

FOREIGN GROUPS IN ROME DURING THE
FIRST CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE *

GEORGE LA PIANA

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

Introduction	183
I. Foreign Immigration in Rome; the Topography of Rome and the Foreign Groups; the Aventine Hill; Other Districts.....	188
II. The Foreigners in the Roman Environment; Private Associations and Clubs in Ancient Rome	225
III. The Stations in Rome; Professional Associations of Foreigners; Funerary Associations	249
IV. The Religions of the Foreign Groups in Rome; Rome the New Religious Centre of the Ancient World.....	282
V. Nationalism and Universalism in the Mystery-religions in Rome; Foreign Religions and State Religion; the Process of Romanization and the Failure of the Cults	321
VI. The Jews in Rome; Jewish Districts; Synagogues and Cemeteries.....	341
VII. The Privileges of the Jews and the Official Cults; Jewish Proselytism in Rome.....	372
Conclusion	394

AMONG the many religions of oriental origin Christianity was the only one which really became a Roman religion, and any attempt to explain the complex history of the institutional development of the Church of Rome during the early centuries of the empire must start from the analysis of this distinguishing fact, the 'romanization' of the Christian Church. A survey of the Roman environment in which Christianity made its first conquests and secured its success is the indispensable preliminary to the study of the process that gradually transformed

* Two chapters under this same title have already been published in Italian in *Ricerche Religiose*, II, November 1926, pp. 485-547, and III, January 1927, pp. 36-75. The material contained in those chapters is incorporated in the present study, which, however, covers a much larger field and deals with many problems not touched upon, or only very slightly, in the Italian articles.

Christianity in Rome from a religion of foreign groups into the legally established religion of the Roman Empire.¹

I have elsewhere shown that the presence in the Christian Roman community of the first centuries of groups representing the various races and provinces of the empire was a very important factor in the history of the Roman church.² It enables us to see more fully the grounds of the conflict that marked every step of the development of the church, and assists in tracing the rise of the institutions and traditions by which unity of faith and practice was ultimately secured and the foundation laid for a new system of hierarchical government of the whole church.

All the oriental religions in Rome were at first religions of foreign groups, and such was also Christianity. Gradually they gained adepts from all classes of the population and affected the religious, social, and even political life of the city, so as to become one of the important factors of the 'orientalization' of many a Roman institution. But there is another side to the problem which is often overlooked. How and to what extent were these religions affected by the Roman environment? How far, adapting themselves to Roman modes of thought and traditions, did they undergo a process of romanization? And why did Christianity, in contrast to all other religions, become fully romanized? No inquiry into the Christian origins of Rome can afford to ignore this problem.

In the conclusion of an essay on 'The Problem of the Latin Church in Rome,' I remarked: "Since there is no doubt that the Christians in Rome were for a long period mostly foreigners, and since it is also well known that the great majority of them belonged to the humbler social classes, the study of the

¹ General surveys of the religious life in the Graeco-Roman world, from the point of view of spiritual tendencies and beliefs, of the interpenetration of traditions coming from all races and civilizations, of the peculiar conceptions concerning astral influences or the future life, and also of the religious rites and ceremonies of the various official cults and popular religions, have been made in recent times by eminent and well-known scholars. The present study deals only with the Roman environment, and primarily with the institutions, of the foreign populations in Rome, and therefore with their religious and social organization rather than with their beliefs or spiritual tendencies.

² 'The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century,' *Harvard Theological Review*, July 1925, pp. 201-277.

life and manners of the foreign multitudes in Rome during the early centuries of the empire might throw much light on the life of the Christian community itself. The Christians in Rome were in many ways different from the rest of the population, and hence they very soon brought upon their organization the animadversion of the Roman government. Nevertheless, they had inevitably to conform to the environment, and, as the Apologists show, they lived in accordance with the social and economic conditions and traditions of the working classes to which they belonged. The historians of Roman Christianity seem to have generally overlooked this source of information, concentrating their efforts, as they have done, on the persecutions and on the important related question of the juridical relations of the Christian community to the political authority. It is only from that point of view, for instance, that the question whether the Christians formed 'collegia' having a juridical existence has been studied. But even a rapid survey of institutions, customs, and traditions among the various foreign groups in Rome cannot fail to bring to light striking analogies in the Christian conditions, and so be of great assistance in putting into its true historical background both the origin and development of latinization and the hierarchical growth of the Roman church, both of these being processes which have a capital importance in the general history of Christianity."³ The history of the oriental religions in Rome and of their propagation in the western provinces of the empire is now sufficiently known, thanks to the works of many scholars who have used every scrap of available historical and archaeological evidence. We possess therefore some material for the study of the oriental cults as national cults of the immigrant groups and for observing their reaction to the process of romanization. We have also excellent pictures of social life in Rome during the last centuries of the republic and the later centuries of the empire.⁴ More-

³ *Il Problema della Chiesa Latina in Roma*, Rome, 1922, p. 20.

⁴ L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 9th ed. by G. Wissowa, 1919-21; W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, New York, 1909; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904. These works, as well as the older well known studies of Mommsen and Marquardt on Roman antiquities, have

over, a long series of investigations of the economic history of the Roman empire have thrown further light on the origins, the occupations, and the whole social and political life of the Roman populations, and on the constitutional and administrative development of the Roman world.⁵ In all these works the fact that from the last centuries of the Republic the population of Rome acquired, through the influx of foreign immigrants, a more and more cosmopolitan character, has received due consideration as a factor in the social, economic, political, and religious history of the city, and has afforded valuable explanations for the understanding of peculiar developments and changes in the life of the great capital of the empire. But no attempt has been made to inquire whether and to what extent foreign immigration⁶ in Rome gave rise to the formation of foreign groups and caused, even if only for short periods, at least certain forms of group life to develop among them. The present study does not aim to be a history of foreign immigration, whether free or compulsory, in Rome: its purpose is very modest and limited. It deals only with certain groups of immigrants, especially from the eastern provinces of the empire, and only with certain aspects of their life in the capital, namely, those groups and those aspects which may be construed as offering interesting analogies to certain developments in the life and organization of the Christian community

been largely used in the present study. I have also made extensive use of various articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*; De Ruggero, *Dizionario Epigrafico*; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, and of other books which will be mentioned in the foot-notes; but above all I have gone back directly to the original sources, literary, historical, and epigraphic, submitting them to a new investigation from my special point of view.

⁵ See especially the recent brilliant work of M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (SEHRE), Oxford, 1926, and the new edition of Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome* (EHR), 2nd ed., Baltimore, 1927.

⁶ The word 'immigration' is here taken in a general sense to include not only those who settled in Rome by free choice but also those who were compelled to do so, such as members of the senatorial class obliged by the emperors to take up their domicile in Rome and slaves, either prisoners of war or persons brought to Rome by slave-traders. For the purpose of this survey it is convenient to include persons of servile origin in the general classification of immigrants, for through manumission large numbers of slaves, either themselves or in the persons of their sons, contributed an important element to the free population of foreign birth or descent.

of Rome during the same centuries. These analogies and suggestive rapprochements will be pointed out and analyzed in a further study dealing with early Roman Christianity. The material, often merely epigraphical, upon which the present survey must depend is scanty, and by its nature often of doubtful interpretation. But even a study based on the few data that we possess to-day will not be useless as an attempt to set forth the historical background for a future description of the origin and growth of the Christian community of Rome during the first centuries of the empire.

I

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN ROME; THE TOPOGRAPHY OF
ROME AND THE FOREIGN GROUPS; THE AVENTINE
HILL; OTHER DISTRICTS

DURING the last century of the republic and the early centuries of the empire the foreign population of Rome increased very rapidly and in many ways came to affect the whole life of the city and its institutions. The influx of Latins and of Italians from Central Italy and of Greeks from the South was now succeeded by the incoming of a great variety of racial elements from the provinces of Asia Minor and Syria, from Egypt and Greece, from Africa and Spain, and gradually from Gaul and the Danube lands. A large part of this foreign population was made up of slaves and former slaves, and of their descendants.

In the second century B.C. Rome was already an overpopulated city. The figures of the census of Roman citizens, of which we possess a fairly consecutive list from 234 to 70 B.C., do not fully illuminate the problem of the population of Rome, since the gradual extension of citizenship to the Italian populations makes these figures applicable only in part to the city proper. It seems, however, that from the beginning of the second century there was a constant increase, save for brief periods, and that at the beginning of the empire over one million inhabitants crowded the city.⁷ To this increase in the population the native

⁷ The conjectural statistics proposed by G. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 392-413, are considered to be too low, and his assumption that the population of Rome remained stationary and less than one million until the time of Diocletian is not warranted by archaeological evidence. See U. Kahrstedt, 'Ueber die Bevölkerung Roms,' in *Friedländer*, IV, pp. 11-21. On the figures of the census see besides Beloch (pp. 319 ff.) the article of Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa and Marion E. Park, *The Plebs in Cicero's Day; A Study of their Provenance and of their Employment* (dissertation), 1918, pp. 6 ff., a useful study which was preceded by the investigation of Tenney Frank, 'Race Mixture in the Roman Empire,' *American Historical Review*, July 1916, pp. 689-708, based mainly on the study of about 14000 sepulchral inscriptions of urban plebeians of Rome (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI, 2, 3). The results of this study are summarized again by the author in the valuable chapter, 'The Plebs Urbana,' in *Economic History of Rome*, pp. 202-218.

stock seems not to have contributed much. Decimated by the long wars, fought by citizen armies, which secured to Rome a Mediterranean empire, its ranks were thinned still further by the withdrawal of colonies of citizens to the provinces beyond the sea and by a heavy decline in the birth-rate even among the poorer classes.⁸ The native Roman and Italian population steadily dwindled and the gaps were filled by new races. The largest share was probably contributed by the servile classes. During four centuries of wars of expansion the victorious armies brought to Rome thousands of captives of all races from all the conquered lands. Moreover Rome inherited the slave-trade from the Phoenicians and the Greeks. To Delos, the great emporium of this traffic until the middle of the first century before Christ, slaves were brought from Asia Minor and Syria, from Thrace, from the valley of the lower Danube, and from the northern coast of the Black Sea. They were mostly procured by piracy and by the custom of selling their children which persisted among the Thracians and various populations of Anatolia until Roman times. During the last century of the republic piracy became very active in the south-eastern Mediterranean Sea on the coast of Cilicia, and Phrygian, Syrian, Jewish, Egyptian, Arabian, and even Parthian slaves kept the markets well furnished. Furthermore Carthage had long been an important centre of the traffic in slaves from the tribes of the interior and from Mauretania. Sardinians, Spaniards, Gauls, Germans, and other western races were added to the list with every new addition to the empire. When the empire ceased to expand, the ranks of the slaves were kept full

⁸ The reasons why "the native stock did not better hold its own" are enumerated by T. Frank, *Race Mixture*, pp. 703 ff., and studied in detail by Miss Park, pp. 9-28. The economic causes and social consequences of "race suicide" in Rome are well illustrated by Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 97, 107, 175 and *passim*. The disappearance of the old aristocracy explains "the low standards of intellectual culture [end of the second century after Christ] among even the richest families of the city bourgeoisie and the superficiality of Romanization and Hellenization which seems to characterize all sections of it, including the higher. The state of culture need not surprise us, since the process of Romanization and Hellenization had to begin over and over again with the new families of natives and with the freedmen who replaced the members of the old families" (p. 177).

chiefly by slave-breeding and kidnapping within the empire itself.⁹

The slave population of Rome was undoubtedly of cosmopolitan origin: it seems, however, that the Greek and oriental stock was and remained predominant all through republican and imperial times. Such is the impression that we receive from Roman writers, and even more from the names of slaves and of persons of servile descent mentioned in the literary and historical sources or found by hundreds in the Roman funerary inscriptions. It has been remarked that Greek and oriental slaves from lands of ancient civilizations were more useful and as a rule more docile, and many of them were well trained not only for domestic but for professional service. On the contrary, the thousands of rude and strong war-captives of the western provinces were hardly suited to household duties and were more useful in the roughest service in the fields and in the mines and galleys, or for training as gladiators in the circus. The assumption, however, that slaves of the western races were not to be found in Rome, or only in small numbers, is not supported by any evidence. The fact that Greek and oriental names are predominant in servile nomenclature cannot be construed as an indication of their racial origin; it merely shows that it was fashionable to impose such names on slaves of all races. Equally groundless is the assumption that western slaves were not amenable to civilized ways, and could not be trained for domestic and even for professional services. But when all is said on this point, it seems unquestionable that the slaves from the eastern provinces were numerically preponderant in Rome, and — what is still more important — that they played a more important part in Roman life. As a matter of fact, the slaves of western races in Rome, if they were to be useful in domestic service, had to adopt their manners and be trained in their special occupations, and they often assumed, or were given, Greek and oriental names.¹⁰ The slave popula-

⁹ Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage*, 2nd ed., 1879, II, pp. 16 ff. E. Koester, *De Captivis Romanorum*, 1904, has collected all the historical references to the sale and disposal of the prisoners of war made by the Romans (also Park, pp. 32 ff.).

¹⁰ M. Bang, *Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven* (*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, röm. Abt.*, XXV, 1910, pp. 223-251) has collected all his-

tion, however, did not increase by fresh arrivals from outside only; their masters usually favored their reproduction, not only in the 'familia rustica' but also in the 'familia urbana,' and thus maintained and increased their stock. This large population of slaves gave rise to a numerous class of foreign origin, the liberti, or freedmen, which came to play an important part in the life of the city. Rome's policy in manumitting slaves was very liberal, and the grant of freedom and citizenship made it possible for them to become merged in the citizen body of Rome. Former slaves and sons of slaves "spread into the trades and crafts that required civil standing, and in Cicero's day it was these people who already constituted the larger element of the plebeian classes."¹¹

torical and epigraphical references concerning the nationality of Roman slaves ('Allgemeine Uebersicht über die Nationalitätsangaben der Sklaven'), and in another article (ibid., XXVII, 1912, pp. 189-221) has made a survey of the progressive legislation concerning slaves ('Die Rechtsgründe der Unfreiheit'). Bang's list records very few slaves from the Alpine and Danubian provinces, while Germans appear almost exclusively in the imperial body-guard; "Europeans were of greater service to the empire as soldiers than as servants." Strack (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII, p. 9) remarks that those slaves left no record of their presence because in the gruelling work in the mines and in industry they had no chance for breeding. Frank (*Racial Mixture*, p. 701) comments: "Such slaves were probably the least productive of the class and this in turn helps to explain the strikingly oriental aspect of the new population." Frank's survey of the servile names in Rome leads him to this conclusion: "When the urban inscriptions show that seventy per cent of the city slaves and freedmen bear Greek names and that a large proportion of their children who have Latin names have parents of Greek names, this at once implies that the East was the source of most of them" (p. 700; also EHR, p. 216). He is, however, careful to state that the classification, that is, by the mere Greek or Latin form of the names, depends on very doubtful signs, and therefore that the conclusion is merely in a general way indicative of the predominant element, and has no pretension to be statistically correct. The question of servile nomenclature was subjected to a new and detailed analysis by M. L. Gordon, 'The Nationality of Slaves under the early Roman Empire' (*Journal of Roman Studies*, XIV, 1924, pp. 93-111). This acute study of the origin of servile names and the probable reasons for the prevalence of Greek and oriental forms shows that the names do not provide a safe criterion for a general classification according to race (such as Frank's classification), and that the western slaves must have played a more important rôle than is commonly thought.

¹¹ "The assumption has prevailed that in the city at least, work in aristocratic households was so exacting that slaves could seldom have been allowed the privilege of family life. This assumption proves to be erroneous. The sixth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* fortunately records names taken from the extensive burial-grounds and urn-depositories of several aristocratic households, and these prove that

Immigration of free men can not have been very large in comparison with the importation of slaves. "Labor in Rome was so largely servile that this element, which to-day moves most freely in response to economic needs, was then moved and controlled by capital in the form of slaves. The free man was generally too poor to shift for himself. The city of Rome, which had no industries not in servile hands, could not attract the foreign workman. And to live in semi-idleness at Rome upon the grain provided by the state required the status of citizenship: and this a foreigner could seldom acquire."¹² Immigration of free labor, however, is not to be excluded altogether as one of the contributing elements to the large foreign population of Rome: opportunities, especially for skilled workers, though scarce, were not entirely lacking.¹³ But more important was the immigration of merchants and of professional

the slaves usually married and were well-nigh as prolific in offspring as the average Roman of free station," Frank, *EHR*, pp. 213-214. List of inscriptions in *Racial Mixture*, pp. 696 ff., and historical references in Park, pp. 40-41. For the manumission of slaves, see Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, pp. 436 ff., and pp. 513-646 for the imperial period. Also art. 'Affranchissement' in *DACL*, I, pp. 554 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 70, 587, n. 4. Historical references in Park, pp. 41 ff. On the freedmen in Rome, Friedländer, I, pp. 233-237; Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 502-504; and H. Lemonnier, *Étude historique sur la condition privée des affranchis aux trois premiers siècles de l'empire romain*, 1887, *passim*. Frank's above-mentioned study of 13900 sepulchral inscriptions (*CIL*, VI, 2, 3) of plebeians in Rome reaches the conclusion that "nearly ninety per cent of the Roman-born folk represented in them were of foreign extraction." It must be said, however, that these inscriptions, which belong to the various centuries of the empire and in very few cases either are dated or give beside the names any indication of nationality, can hardly be considered as representing the true situation at any given time.

¹² Frank, *EHR*, p. 208; also pp. 334 ff.

¹³ While it is true that Rome never was an industrial centre of importance, evidence is not lacking that "the amount of free labor gradually increased in the West during the second century as compared with the first century" (Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, p. 539, n. 41; also article 'Industrie und Handel' by H. Gummerus in *Pauly-Wissowa*). There is also interesting evidence of a large use of free-work labor in public works Rostovtzeff, p. 498, n. 33; T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 289 ff. on Polybius's passage concerning the works for the public treasury of Rome. Also Park, pp. 79 ff., on the labor in Aretine potteries, and Frank, *EHR*, chapter on Pompeii, especially p. 269, give valuable data on this point. This evidence can be fully applied also to Rome. The study of G. Kuehn, *De Opificum Romanorum Conditione Privata*, 1910, from the analysis of 1854 names found in inscriptions both from Rome and from outside, concludes that about twenty per cent of those workmen were free born and that the others were either slaves or former slaves.

men, especially after the beginning of the empire, when the re-establishment of peace, the reorganization of the provinces, and increasing prosperity could not fail to attract to the capital large numbers of provincials, led by commercial, political, or other motives.¹⁴ There is no doubt that there was at all times in imperial Rome a large crowd of foreign merchants, artists, men of letters, teachers and students, musicians and dancers, and adventurers of every sort, both free men and freedmen of all races, to whom the capital offered a better chance of success than did the provincial towns. A passage of Seneca gives a rhetorical, but impressive, enumeration of the various motives which brought all this rout to Rome.

Adspice agedum hanc frequentiam, cui vix urbis immensae tecta sufficiunt: maxima pars istius turbae patria caret. Ex municipiis et coloniis suis ex toto denique orbe terrarum confluerunt. Alios adduxit ambitio, alios necessitas officii publici, alios imposita legatio, alios luxuria opportunum et opulentum vitiis locum quaerens, alios liberalium studiorum cupiditas, alios spectacula. Quosdam traxit amicitia, quosdam industria laxam ostendendae virtuti nacta materiam. Quidam venalem formam addulerunt, quidam venalem eloquentiam. Nullum non hominum genus concurrit in urbem et virtutibus et vitiis magna pretia ponentem. Tunc istos omnes ad nomen citari et "unde domo" quisque sit quaere: videbis maiorem partem esse quae relictis sedibus suis venerit in maximam quidem ac pulcherrimam urbem, tamen non suam.¹⁵

¹⁴ See in Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, the chapter 'Augustus and the Policy of Restoration and Reconstruction,' pp. 38-74, in which the importance of Italy in the economic life of the first century of the empire is duly emphasized. In that period "Italy remained the richest land of the Empire and had as yet no rival. She was the greatest centre of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry in the West" (p. 74).

¹⁵ De Consolatione ad Helviam 6. Commenting on this passage and on the well known passages of the third satire of Juvenal, which clearly suggest that foreigners of their own free will drifted to Rome in great numbers to make it their own place of livelihood, T. Frank (Racial Mixture, p. 694) thinks that "the generalities in those passages are too sweeping." Of the merchants and tradesmen I shall speak later. But it seems to me that there is no serious reason to doubt that Seneca's and Juvenal's descriptions were not mere rhetorical exaggerations. The impossibility of a large immigration of free labor in Rome is rightly suggested by well known facts in the matter of Roman industrial life, but there is no satisfactory reason to exclude the other kind of immigration, that of professional men and of adventurers of all sorts, who must have flocked to Rome, as they do nowadays to the great cities of the nations. It is true that even in the professions, like medicine and teaching, slaves and freedmen were numerous, but very often their services were mainly limited to the rich families which possessed or employed them. Not all the rich owners of well trained slaves followed the example of Cato, who kept grammarian slaves for hire. In such a large city as Rome in the imperial

From Greece and the hellenized cities of Asia Minor came the Graeculi, 'little Greeks,' ready to turn their hands to anything, who were familiar figures in the streets of Rome and favorite targets of the keen satire so much relished alike by plebeians and by persons of culture. But not all the Greeks of Rome were vagabonds and parasites: there was among them a large element of the cultivated classes, teachers of grammar and philosophy, artists, and merchants, whose contribution to the literary, artistic, and commercial life of the city was of greatest importance in the development of Roman civilization. As a whole the Greeks found a very favorable environment in Rome, especially when the Roman aristocracy, attracted by the glorious history of Greek art and thought, made it fashionable to affect the Greek language and customs. No wonder that at times Rome should seem detestably Greek to those who were attached to the old Roman traditions and should provoke an outburst of rage like that of Juvenal, "I cannot bear, O Romans, a Greek city."¹⁶

The provinces of Asia Minor and the nearby regions were an inexhaustible reservoir not only for supplying the slave-markets of Rome but also for providing specialists in various trades and professions. The Asiatic population was so large in Rome that Athenaeus could say that "entire nations, as the Cappadocians, the Scythians, the people of Pontus, and many others, had settled in Rome."¹⁷ No less important was the

times there must have been plenty of opportunities for professional men and 'peregrini,' from the provinces. The very fact that even in republican times there is mention of expulsion, or proposals of expulsion, from Rome of precisely such men, and that at other times, as under Julius Caesar, they were protected and encouraged to come in, shows that their numbers were considerable and their services needed. The scanty evidence found in the few and casual inscriptions has, in my opinion, less weight than the explicit statements of eyewitnesses.

¹⁶ Juvenal, 3, 69-118. A study of known Greek men of letters who lived in Rome was made by A. Hillscher, 'Hominum Litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem in Urbe Roma Commoratorum historia critica,' in *Jahrbücher f. klass. Philologie*, 1892, pp. 355-444; see also Friedländer, I, pp. 175 ff.: Jullien, *Les Professeurs de Littérature dans l'ancienne Rome*, 1885; C. Barbagallo, *Lo Stato e l'Istruzione pubblica nell' Impero Romano*, 1911; L. Hahn, 'Ueber das Verhältniss von Staat und Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Philologus*, 1920, pp. 170 ff.

¹⁷ *Deipnosophistes*, i. 36 (ed. Kaibel, 1888-89). Athenaeus wrote his dialogue in the first years of the third century; what we possess is only an abridgment, with many gaps.

contribution of Syria. "The Syrian Orontes discharges into the Tiber," says Juvenal, "and has brought with it the Syrian language and customs, the flutes and fiddles, not to speak of the tambourines and the girls who are for sale in the circus."¹⁸ Under Lucius Verus, and later under the Severi, the Syrian influx reached its peak. "The old emperors used to bring kings to Rome in chains to celebrate their triumphs," says Julius Capitolinus, "but Verus brought with him from Syria players of the harp and the flute, actors and jesters from the mimes, jugglers, and every kind of low-class performer whom he had found amusing Syria and Alexandria: and in such numbers that he seemed to have concluded a war, not against Parthians, but against actors."¹⁹

From distant Mesopotamia and from Egypt, the lands of ancient wisdom, astrologers and experts in divination, soothsayers and physicians, all soon learned the road to Rome. From Alexandria, chief centre of Hellenism, philosophers and teachers, artists and actors, priests of Isis and merchants, crowded into the great capital, bringing with them their occult sciences, their skill in mathematics and medicine, their abstruse metaphysics and decadent poetry, together with the products of the soil and of their age-old art. The Jews of Palestine, as well, and of the Diaspora formed in Rome a large community, the largest Jewry of the West and second only to those of the great hellenistic centres Alexandria and Antioch.

Roman Africa in its turn took an important place among the provinces which contributed to the population of the city. Especially during the second century and in the time of Septimius Severus, himself a native of Libya, the Africans seem to have felt more the irresistible attraction of Rome, and they

¹⁸ Juvenal, 3, 62-65.

¹⁹ Julius Capitolinus, Verus, 8, 2. On the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* see the brief discussion of the controverted points in Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 381 ff. and bibliographical notes, pp. 604 and 613. The recent study of Norman Baynes, *The Historia Augusta, Its Date and Purpose*, 1926, which concludes that it was "a disguised propaganda to further the policies of Julian the Apostate (361-363)," does not seem to have solved the problem. It is still safe to hold that the earlier lives (with few secondary exceptions) are based on an excellent Latin historical work of the early third century. Rostovtzeff thinks that large parts of the lives of Caracalla, Elagabal, and Alexander were also based on the narrative of this historian.

were not unwelcome, for, according to Spartianus, the biographer of Severus, this emperor in rebuilding the great monument called the Septizonium "had no other thought than that this building should strike the eye of those who came to Rome from Africa."²⁰

The foreign population of Rome, however, not merely supplied the new elements which came to form the great bulk of the plebs urbana; it contributed also and in a large measure to the wealthy classes. The senatorial and equestrian aristocracy was soon filled by new families of provincial origin which took the place of the old Roman aristocratic families of republican times, either extinct by lack of offspring or destroyed by the proscriptions and ruthless executions of the imperial period.²¹ The western provinces, which in comparison with the eastern provinces contributed so little to the plebs urbana, were on the contrary the first in providing new recruits for the aristocracy of Rome. After the time of Claudius the provincial aristocracy not only of Italy but also of Gaul, of Spain, and of Africa, filled the senatorial and equestrian ranks of the capital. Few orientals entered the senate before the third century after Christ, but their numbers increased after Caracalla.²² "Instead of being an aristocracy of birth, as in the first century, it became an aristocracy of service, recruited by the emperors from the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy, the equestrian order. This too was an aristocracy of service wholly dependent on the emperor and recruited from the ranks of the wealthier residents

²⁰ Aelius Spartianus, Severus, 24, 3. Of the African colony of Rome and its importance in the political and religious life of the city about the end of the second century after Christ, I wrote at length in my essay 'The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century,' Harvard Theological Review, 1925, pp. 223 ff.

²¹ The political, economic, and social causes of the decline of the old aristocracy and the consequences of the substitution for it of the new senatorial and equestrian classes are analyzed in detail by Rostovtzeff, SEHRE (see Index under 'Equestrian' and 'Senatorial Aristocracy'). For historical and epigraphic references to the old and the new senatorial families, and lists of them, see among others B. Steh, 'Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum,' in Klio, 1912, who, however, relies too much on the unsafe criterion of the names in identifying the nationality of non-roman senators. More complete lists and references concerning each province in G. Lully, De Senatorum Romanorum Patria sive de Romani cultus in provinciis incremento, 1918.

²² Friedländer, I, pp. 106-158, especially pp. 106-113; Lully, pp. 216 ff.

in the cities who had served as officers in the army.”²³ Most of them were rich provincial landowners. “Many, however, on entering the imperial service became connected with the city of Rome, perhaps more intimately than with their native city. They took up residence in the capital and invested at least part of their money in Italian land.”²⁴ Besides the imperial aristocracy there was in Rome a large body of wealthy wholesale merchants and shipowners, of thrifty imperial freedmen, of rich bankers and retail traders, among whom the foreign element was largely represented. “We must remember,” says Rostovtzeff, “that Rome constantly grew, and that she played in the life of Italy, if not in the life of the empire, almost the same part as Paris plays nowadays in the life of France, and London in the life of England.”²⁵

About the middle of the first century after Christ, when Christianity made its first appearance in Rome, the foreign element was already prominent in the Roman population. It had begun to make a deep inroad into the senatorial and equestrian classes, it formed a large part of the *plebs urbana*, it contributed the whole servile class and moreover a large population of *peregrini*. Virtually the same situation is found in the second and third centuries with only certain changes in the proportion of the various contributing elements; but there was at all times a process of racial mixture and adjustment, kept up by the constant new influx of foreign elements and traditions. Undoubtedly the economic changes in the empire at large affected the influx of foreign races in the various periods, increasing or decreasing the numbers or giving to one race a greater inducement to migrate than to others, but the unique situation of Rome as the capital of an immense empire, with special privileges and a special régime to satisfy special needs, caused the

²³ Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, p. 175.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286. The chapter from which this quotation is taken deals with ‘City and Country in Italy under the Flavians and the Antonines,’ primarily from the point of view of the economic development and situation. This explains why the statement is more emphatic concerning Rome in relation to Italy than in relation to the whole empire. But from the social and political point of view the statement may be made as absolute for the empire as for Italy.

economic changes of the empire to be less directly important for Rome than for other cities. Rostovtzeff has described at great length the important phenomenon of the urbanization of the populations of the empire, the industrial and commercial life of the cities, and the part they played in the economic, social, and political history of the Roman world from the re-establishment of peace and prosperity under Augustus to the ruinous period of military anarchy and to the fatal policy of the later despotism. Although most of what is said of the cities in general can be applied to Rome, yet a whole series of special problems and situations were peculiar to the capital.²⁶

The administration of the city of Rome [Rostovtzeff remarks] was a heavy burden on the Roman state. Besides the necessity of making Rome a beautiful city, worthy of its position as the capital of the world, besides the obligation to secure for her growing population the elementary needs of life such as water supply, drainage, sanitary arrangements, safety from fires and floods, good paved streets, bridges over the Tiber, a sufficient police force — things which all the more important cities of the Greek world already possessed in the hellenistic period — there was the enormous expense of feeding and amusing the population of Rome. The hundreds of thousands of Roman citizens who lived in Rome cared little for political rights. They readily acquiesced in the gradual reduction of the popular assembly under Augustus to a pure formality, they offered no protest when Tiberius suppressed even this formality, but they insisted on their right, acquired during the civil war, to be fed and amused by the government. None of the emperors, not even Caesar or Augustus, dared to encroach on this sacred right of the Roman proletariat. They limited themselves to reducing and fixing the numbers of the participants in the distribution of corn and to organizing an efficient system of distribution. They fixed also the number of days on which the population of Rome was entitled to a good spectacle in the theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres. But they never attacked the institution itself.²⁷

Famines, which from time to time imposed hardships on provincial cities, seldom affected the Roman proletariat during

²⁶ It is obvious that in such a comprehensive work as Rostovtzeff's *SEHRE*, covering all the regions and the whole history of the empire, Rome's peculiar problems are viewed chiefly from the point of view of the general situation and in the large setting of the whole social and economic history of the Roman world; but the wealth of information as well as the incidental statements to be found in this book supply highly suggestive material and a directive line for the reconstruction of the social and economic life of the city. The limits set by the purpose of my investigation allow me only occasional references to the economic factor. The chapter on the *Plebs Urbana* in Frank's *EHR*, pp. 202 ff., is illuminating.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

the first three centuries of the empire; no matter what the situation was in the provinces, in Rome the state service of the 'annona urbis' secured in some way the grain and oil and staple food for the city, and controlled sufficient means of transportation to have a supply at hand for the current needs most of the time. Free distribution was of course limited to the plebeian class and to a definite number of persons of that class, but either directly through the annona or indirectly through the services of private merchants, whose services were requisitioned when needed by the state, and by imposing low prices for grain the Roman people in general was insured against starvation.²⁸ All these privileges, which were a distinctive mark of the capital alone, could not fail to affect the character

²⁸ The free distribution of corn was introduced under the tribunate of Clodius (58 B.C.). The free population of Rome was registered; and the lists contained 350,000 names of beneficiaries, and involved an annual expense of 40 million sesterces. Caesar had the census taken again and cut down the lists to 150,000 beneficiaries. Under Augustus the figure was raised to 200,000 and remained at that point to the end. Septimius Severus added distributions of oil to those of grain. Aurelian introduced the distribution of bread instead of grain, and also made periodical distributions of pork and salt. All these distributions were abolished in 306 and superseded by the sale of grain to the population of the city at a much reduced price. Free bread was reestablished by Valentinian I in 369, but Honorius went back to the system of grain at low prices. Moreover, frequent gifts of money to the Roman plebs were made by the emperors on various occasions, such as their accession to the throne, the celebration of triumphs, or the proclamation of their heirs. Add to these bounties the free games and spectacles, the free or almost free baths, and other pleasures provided by the state or rich private citizens, and it will not be difficult to realize how the Roman plebeians who enjoyed all these privileges could live a semi-idle life in the slums of the capital. A vivid description of the system of free distributions in Rome is found in the excellent book of L. Homo, *Problèmes sociaux de jadis et d'à présent*, Paris, 1922, chap. III, 'La lutte contre la vie chère à Rome,' pp. 115-131. The distribution of grain took place at the porticus Minucia, called also porticus frumentaria, in the western part of the Campus Martius. On stated days in each month each beneficiary stood in line before the appropriate one of the forty-five sections, and when his turn came presented his tessera and received his portion of corn. "L'opération ne se passe pas toujours sans difficultés. Parfois il faut attendre, parfois même le blé manque. Conciliabules et réclamations, bousculades et horions. Mais la police veille; la distribution s'achève tant bien que mal dans un ordre relatif et les heureux privilégiés se dispersent en se donnant rendez-vous pour le mois suivant" (Homo, p. 127). When Aurelian substituted bread for grain, the distribution became a daily affair and was carried on through authorized bread-shops. In the fourth century there were in Rome two hundred and fifty-four of such shops, scattered in the various regions. The distribution of oil was made in the same way through the mensae oleariae, of which there were 2300 to take care of all the beneficiaries.

of the population, whether native or foreign, and gave rise to peculiar social and economic traditions and customs and to special institutions.

We are here concerned only with the foreign groups which, having settled in Rome either by free choice or by compulsory immigration, became a part of the city population. The question which confronts us at the outset is whether these foreign masses were assimilated by the native element, and if so to what extent, or whether they formed a racial mixture in which the native element itself finally lost its identity. In earlier centuries the city of Rome grew by the successive incorporation of tribes and even entire populations of Latin and Italian stock, which mixed together to produce what may be called the native Roman population of republican times. The Etruscan element, which in the early history of the city must have played an important part in the ethnical mixture of the population, had been absorbed, contributing some characteristics of race and civilization.²⁹ With the growing political importance of the city and the conquest of Italian provinces, Rome gradually out of a city of peasants became a city of soldiers, prosperous bourgeois, and poor plebeians, governed by an aristocracy of wealth. First came the Greek element from Southern Italy, and these were soon followed by the Greeks of the hellenistic world and by the oriental and western Mediterranean races. All these formed what may rightly be called the foreign population of Rome. The beginning of this influx of foreigners in considerable numbers coincided with the great conquests after the Punic wars, and continued unabated throughout the republican period. Periodical reactions on the part of the native population, and especially of the conservative classes, found expression in occasional drastic laws which resulted in the expulsion from the city of all foreigners or of certain groups. But in spite of those measures the foreign population of Rome assumed still greater proportions and impor-

²⁹ The name of one of the oldest vici, the vicus Tuscus, was probably a survival of the period of Etruscan domination in Rome. De Ruggero (*Il Foro Romano*, 1915, p. 510) thinks that the vicus Tuscus marked the place where according to tradition a group of Etruscan masons, called to Rome to build public edifices, had their residence.

tance, and became a political force in the hands of demagogues during the civil wars and tumults of the last part of the republican régime. Finally, under the imperial rule it entered on a period of unchecked expansion in the economic and religious life of the city.³⁰

Within the limits of our survey we have therefore three centuries of a continuous coming of foreign elements to Rome, preceded by at least two more centuries of the republican period during which the Roman population had been steadily permeated by an increasing multitude of new settlers in the city. In our own time a similar situation has arisen in the great American cities, though under very different conditions, and the working of the general laws which determine the stages of such processes presents interesting analogies. In general the early newcomers, small groups or scattered individuals, are pretty easily absorbed by the native population; yet that is a slow process which becomes more and more difficult as the foreign multitudes increase. The process of absorption has then to begin over again. If, as happened in Rome, the increase of the foreign element is at the same time accompanied by a noteworthy decrease of the native race, then the latter's power of absorption weakens, and the result is a racial mixture to which the native stock is merely one of the contributors. But even in such cases, in the large cities in which social, political, and religious life has already attained a highly developed form, environment plays the most important part in the process; the foreign elements undergo a process of adaptation, and borrow from the native stock many of its mental habits, customs, and standards. Such a process of adaptation, however, is never absolute and perfect: the foreign element, when represented by large incoming crowds and for a long period, is not merely a passive recipient; it becomes also an active contributor to the race

³⁰ "Rome was to be no longer an Italian community, but the denationalized capital of many nations. Although this motley mixture of parasite populations, especially the Hellenic and Oriental, was not very desirable in Rome, yet Caesar did not oppose its progress; it is significant that in the celebration of popular festivals in the capital he gave the order that plays should be given not only in Latin and Greek, but also in other languages, probably in Phœnician, Jewish, and Syriac" (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 8th ed., IV, p. 599).

and to the environment, which thus comes to be affected by extraneous traditions and mental habits. The result of the process is the gradual formation of a new environment which is not entirely the ancient one of the native tradition. Anyone who is familiar with the life of foreign groups in modern American cities will have seen that even under the most favorable circumstances the foreign groups live in an environment not fully American but yet neither Italian nor German nor Polish, but rather a combination of various and sometimes opposite elements which assume a peculiar form of their own and represent the effort of the new races to adapt themselves to the new life.³¹ To follow the development of such a process of adaptation in a great city where large groups of foreign races are crowded together is a difficult task even for contemporaries; it is much more difficult, indeed almost impossible, in dealing with ancient history, where we can have only scanty evidence and for certain aspects of the problem none at all.

Speaking of the lower classes of the cities both in the western and eastern provinces of the empire, Rostovtzeff remarks:

One step below [the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie] on the social scale stood the petty bourgeoisie, the shop owners, the retail-traders, the money-changers, the artisans, the representatives of liberal professions, such as teachers, doctors, and the like. Of them we know but little. The ruins of the ancient cities of Italy and of the provinces, with their hundreds of smaller and larger shops and hundreds of inscriptions, mentioning individual members of this class and their associations, lead us to believe that they formed the backbone of municipal life. But we have no means of

³¹ In a few Roman epitaphs we find the peculiar phrase 'natione verna' (CIL. VI, 10049, 14208, etc.). Miss Gordon (p. 110) finds in it a "pathetic" hint of a supposed consciousness of denationalization among these members of the servile class. In reality this phrase is probably a mere abbreviation of the formula 'natione verna Romanus,' describing slaves born in the familia urbana of a Roman household. Such, or equivalent, formulae are not rare; thus, "Olympus domini Domitiani Aug. ser. verna Romae natus" (CIL. VI, 23454); "Iulia Auta natione verna Nucherina (born at Nuceria, CIL. X, 1981); or, more briefly, "Isidorus verna Putiolanus" (CIL. IV, 4699; Bang, p. 244). But apart from this rather sentimental interpretation of a common formula, Miss Gordon's following statement depicts a true situation: "Intermarriage produced a complete intermixture of races, and environment quickly obliterated almost all traces of 'barbarous' nationality. The typical slave of the early empire belonged to neither east nor west: he was a product of Graeco-Roman civilization, an example of Rome's strange power of absorbing and assimilating aliens. . . . His characteristics were not oriental, but servile, resulting from the abnormal conditions of slavery" (p. 110).

drawing a line between the higher and the lower bourgeoisie, as the former was certainly recruited from the latter. To the petty bourgeoisie belonged also the salaried clerks of the government and the minor municipal officers, a large and influential class, mostly slaves and freedmen of the emperor, that is of the state, and of the cities (*servi publici*). As to the size of their salaries and the amount of the incomes of the petty bourgeoisie our sources do not supply the slightest indication. On a lower plane stood the city proletariat, the free wage-earners, and the slaves employed in the shops and in the household. We have no means of defining their numerical strength or their material conditions. Our sources very rarely speak of them, and the ruins of the excavated cities do not yield statistics. But there is no doubt that the existence of slave labour kept the wages of free workmen very low, hardly above the minimum required for bare subsistence.³²

The foreign crowds in Rome belonged mostly to these classes, of whose conditions of life and work the sources say so little; but for Rome we possess a larger amount of information than is available for the provincial cities. The literary sources contain much that is valuable, and still more valuable material is found in the inscriptions and in the legislation concerning the special régime of the capital, the social and economic measures taken in various periods, and the privileges or restrictions imposed at times over certain sections of the population. Thus, while it is true that for the cities of the empire in general how thorough the romanization and hellenization of the middle and the lower classes of the city population was, is beyond our knowledge, the same cannot be said so positively for the population of Rome. Our knowledge, scanty as it is, of various institutions of imperial Rome which were either directly or indirectly connected with foreign groups, such as the 'stationes' of foreign merchants, many 'collegia,' and still more the religious associations and religious cults of foreign deities, makes it possible to trace at least certain phases of the process and to throw some light on certain aspects of the problem.

And first of all, it seems that the various foreign races which had a large representation in Rome formed at times special groups bound together by their common origin from the same province or from the same city, by their common traditions, and yet more by their peculiar religious cults of national deities. Through the process of adaptation and amalgamation those

³² SEHRE, p. 178.

groups would be continually losing individuals and families merged in the racial mixture or fortunate enough to climb to the upper Roman classes, but the loss of these was more than offset by newcomers who filled the gaps and perpetuated the existence of the groups as long as the stream of migration continued to flow. Moreover, the process of absorption of the foreign elements into the general environment was very slow. Rostovtzeff observes that the easterners transplanted to the West "retained their hellenistic characteristics for many generations."³³ This was true not only of the hellenized races but much more of all other foreigners, whose mental habits were less amenable to the Graeco-Roman ways of life and thought. As a consequence their groups could offer more prolonged resistance to the forces of attraction which proceeded from the environment and the "melting-pot" of Rome.

It is to-day, and has always been everywhere, the natural tendency of a body of immigrants from the same nationality in a foreign city to live together as much as possible in the same district, where they can reproduce the main characteristics of the social and religious life of the country from which they came. They form sections of their own, separate to a certain extent from the rest of the population, and keep their own language and customs at least as long as the current of immigration remains active. This is a universal phenomenon, of which we have evidence on a large scale in the numerous communities of immigrants from Europe and Asia in the large cities of America. There are reasons for believing that the foreign populations of ancient Rome were no exception to this rule, and that they yielded to this tendency so far as the social and economic conditions of the city allowed them to follow this instinctive need. It is obvious that the aggregations of foreign population in ancient Rome could not attain the enormous size and remarkable group life which characterize similar groups in American cities. The commercial and industrial life of Rome was very different from the modern American organization, with its enormous factories and manufacturing centres made

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

possible by the rapidity of communication and requiring great concentration of masses of workers. Moreover, as we have seen, a large part of the foreign population of Rome consisted of slaves, who lived scattered in the residences, places of business, or suburban villas of their masters. But the large crowds of free workers, freedmen or sons of freedmen, small traders or professional men, and of the peregrini of all kinds who were free to choose their abode and to associate with their kind, could not fail to obey the natural instincts of race and tradition.

When Juvenal says that the Syrian in Rome kept his language and customs, he gives indirect testimony to the existence in Rome of groups of Syrians having institutions of their own, since foreign language and customs can survive only in a form of associated life, which maintains continual contact between the members of the same group. Among the foreign groups in Rome, that of the Jews was certainly the most noticeable. Their religious exclusiveness and the absolute subjection of their social life and institutions to their religious law gave this group a marked individuality and raised an impassable barrier against any fusion with other races. This explains why we find in the history and literature of Rome during the first three centuries of the empire more conspicuous traces of the Jewish community than of any other foreign group.

The other immigrant groups from the East, even when they differed in language and customs, yet all lived within the sphere of a fundamentally identical religious conception, and their divergencies were more a matter of form and name than of substance. There was, as a rule, no religious exclusiveness among the various cults that they followed, but on the contrary a constant interchange of mythologies and rituals which facilitated the fusion of the various races and favored their absorption into the general Roman environment. It is easy to see why the life of the other foreign groups was not so strictly individualized as that of the Jewish population, and why it has not left such distinct traces in the history of imperial Rome.³⁴

³⁴ The history of immigrant groups in America is very similar. The German or Italian immigrant of the second or third generation is more or less completely americanized, and shows little or no difference in his social and religious life from native Ameri-

But that there were in Rome foreign groups crowded in special districts, with social and religious institutions of their own, cannot be doubted. We have adequate historical evidence of this fact, as well as of its effect upon the whole social, economic, and religious life of the city. By the end of the second century after Christ, Rome according to Athenaeus presented the aspect of a vast agglomeration of cities, brought together from the various parts of the Roman world:

Rome may be fairly called the nation of the world. And he will not be far wrong who pronounces the city of the Romans an epitome of the whole earth, since here you may see every other city organized collectively and many also separately. . . . And not only one day but the days of an entire year would not suffice for a man who should attempt to count all the cities which are to be found in that uranopolis of Rome, so numerous are they. For indeed some entire nations are settled there.³⁵

Even making allowance for the rhetorical exaggeration in which Athenaeus, like all Greek writers of that time, indulged,

cans of the same class. The fundamental identity of the Christian religious conception, in either the Protestant or the Catholic form, favors adoption of common standards of life to such a point that the separate history of each group, so far as concerns the individual, ceases after the second generation. On the contrary the Jewish immigrant groups in America have a continuous and distinct history, which may be followed from the beginning through the development of the special institutions of American Judaism. The Jews who emigrated to America from Germany during the revolutionary movements of 1848-49 and settled mostly in the central and northwestern states (then at the beginning of their development) illustrate this tendency. Although their descendants have become americanized to a great extent, especially because they belonged to the Jews of the liberal Reform, yet even to-day they form a separate group from the rest of the population, having not only their own synagogues, but their own schools, charitable institutions, and clubs, just as do the Jews who have come more recently from Russia, Poland, and the Balkan States, many of whom are strictly conservative.

³⁵ Deipnosophistes, i. 36. See also the corrections on this passage in Meyer, *Emendationes et observationes in Athenaei novissimam editionem*, 1897, p. 7. No less emphatic is the description of Aelius Aristides in his Panegyric of Rome: "The empire, being so vast, and having no other boundaries than those of the world, cannot be known except by visiting all its regions one after another, or by simply residing in the city, which summarizes them all. Rome is indeed the beginning and end of all things, the universal market of the world. There you see all products of all industries and arts of all countries, and it is safe to say that what cannot be found in Rome does not exist anywhere" (*Aelii Aristidis quae supersunt*, ed. Keil, II, Oratio 26). See A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristides et la sophistique*, 1913, pp. 347 ff. The cosmopolitan character of the population of Rome is often mentioned by writers belonging to the various centuries, from the time of Cicero ("Roma est civitas ex nationum conventu constituta," *De petitione cons.* 54) to Olympiodorus in the fifth century: *Εἰς δόμος ἀσπὴ πόλει· πόλις ἄσπεα μὴρία κείθει* (quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, p. 63).

we cannot deny that his words, and especially the expression *καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τὰς πολλὰς*, point to the existence in Rome of districts inhabited mainly by groups of foreigners and forming separate communities with their own peculiar characteristics. Modern archaeological and historical research, which has successfully reconstructed a large part of the topography of imperial Rome has revealed many details concerning the dwelling-houses, the 'insulae' and the 'domus,' and the shops and other domestic features of Roman life, which throw much light on the general situation.

From the second century before Christ Rome was ever suffering for shortage of houses and living-accommodations for her rapidly increasing population. The withdrawal of large colonies of citizens, the enrollment of the proletariat in the army by Marius and the settlement of them in military colonies after the wars, the new colonies established by Caesar, gave temporary relief but did not cure the evil, for the gaps were quickly filled and the population increased again by leaps and bounds.³⁶ In the last century of the republic the city had

³⁶ Before the period of the Gracchi, Rome had already established twenty-seven colonies in Italy, sending to them numbers of citizens from the rural and urban city tribes. The enrollment of the plebeians in the army by Marius (B.C. 107?) thinned the ranks of the plebs urbana, the more so that at the end of the wars they did not return to Rome but settled in military colonies. This system was followed on a large scale by Sulla, and later by Caesar and Augustus (*Homo*, pp. 75 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *passim*, see Index under 'Colonies'); Suetonius says that Caesar "distributed eighty thousand Roman citizens among the colonies beyond the sea," but at the same time took several measures to increase again the population of the city decimated by their exodus: "ut exhaustae urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit, ne quis civis maior anni viginti minorve quadraginta, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset, neve qui senatoris filius nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus peregre profisceretur" (*Divus Iulius*, 42). How far these measures contributed to the new and rapid increase of the Roman population is difficult to say, but there is reason to believe that the population would have grown even without those provisions. E. M. East in his book, *Mankind at the Crossroad* (1923), speaking of the overpopulated countries of modern Europe, remarks that emigration even in large numbers from an overpopulated region is only a temporary and short-lived relief, for the improvement in the situation which is followed by better living-conditions is in its turn followed by higher birth-rates, which in a short time not only fill the gaps left by the emigrants but bring a further increase to the population. It is a vicious circle (p. 345). Caesar more than any other Roman statesman seems to have realized the seriousness of the problem of the population of Rome and of Italy, and to have tried to increase the native free stock and reduce the foreign element of the servile classes. Besides the measures mentioned above, Caesar

grown beyond the enclosure of the Tullian walls and beyond the Tiber, but the growth of these suburbs did not keep pace with the growth of the population. The obvious consequence of the house-shortage was high rents, due both to unscrupulous profiteering and to the overcrowding of the plebeians and the poor in the cheapest districts of the city.³⁷

Augustus did much to remedy the situation, adding to the city new settlements, granting public land in the Campus Martius for new buildings, opening new sections on the Esquiline, on the Appian and Ostian ways, and beyond the river. The four ancient regions of republican Rome were now superseded by a new division of the city into fourteen regions, which included all the new sections already thickly populated. But very soon the population again outgrew the accommodations available and the lodgings-crisis assumed more and more the character of a permanent disability of the great capital. The great monumental constructions of the emperors of the Julian family, of the Flavians, and of the Antonines, and the new sumptuous 'domus' built by the new rich families, required the demolition of large numbers of tenements and reduced still more the space available for the lower classes. On the other hand, the sumptuous palaces and gardens and parks of the millionaires, such as Lucullus, Sallust, Maecenas, Asinius Pollio, and many others, which covered hundreds of acres on the heights of the Pincio and the Esquiline and beyond the Aventine, became gradually a property of the emperors and formed an inviolable circle around Rome which prevented all expansion in almost every direction. To go outside the circle was unthinkable; distances meant much to a population which

sent colonies of urban freedmen to Corinth, to Sinope and Heraclea on the Black Sea, and to Spain, removing from Rome a large foreign element. Furthermore, he decreed that at least a third of the laborers employed on the ranches of Italy must be free citizens (Suet. *ib.*). "He understood that Italy's free stock must be saved if the heart of the Empire was to be sound. This is the first effort at Rome to check the spread of slavery, and taken in conjunction with the extra-Italian colonization of many thousands of freedmen, it reveals a readiness to undertake the social reconstruction of Italy" (Frank, *EHR*, 2d ed., p. 351). But Augustus and his successors did not follow Caesar's policy on this point.

³⁷ For this question of the house-shortage and the measures taken at various times to overcome the difficulty, see the admirable description of *L. Homo*, pp. 5-79.

had to walk, for cheap transportation did not exist and the narrow and crooked streets of Rome did not always allow the use of carriages.³⁸

Endless blocks of 'insulae,' poor tenement-houses, towering high on the narrow streets, were the result of the unavoidable overcrowding of the people in the central and cheaper districts.³⁹ Greedy speculators were ready to grasp the oppor-

³⁸ To make the situation worse the streets of the plebeian districts were invaded by crowds of small vendors and peddlers, who carried on their business in the open air and with their improvised tabernae obstructed the passage and even the entrance-doors of the houses. Martial (vii. 61) praises Domitian for having banished such a nuisance from the streets of Rome: "Now it is Rome; formerly it was a great tavern." Carriages within Rome in day-time could be used only by privileged persons and on special occasions, but at night wagons carrying supplies could circulate freely, with the result that the most difficult thing for those who lived in tenement houses was to go to sleep (Friedländer, IV, 'Ueber den Gebrauch der Wagen in Rom,' pp. 22-25). The satirical poets are full of complaints of the noise of Rome both at night and in the day-time. "Many people in Rome die for want of sleep," says Juvenal, "for what sleep is possible in a lodging? Only the rich get sleep in Rome. The crossing of wagons in the narrow winding streets and the curses of their drivers when brought to a stand would make sleep impossible even for a sea-calf" (3, 232 ff.). "If I want to sleep I must go to my country house," says Martial (xii. 57). Things were not much better in the day-time according to the description by Horace (Ep. ii. 2, 65 ff.) of what usually was to be seen and heard in the streets of Rome.

³⁹ The exact meaning of the terms 'domus' and 'insula' in the technical language of ancient Rome has been the subject of controversy among historians and archaeologists. It seems certain, however, that by the term 'domus' were meant residential houses which could be either modest or palatial dwelling-places of single families. 'Insulae' on the contrary meant blocks of buildings, some larger and some smaller, in which many families lived as tenants in separate apartments or rooms. Some of the insulae were substantial buildings well arranged and well decorated, good apartment houses we should say for people of some means. Imposing ruins of houses of this kind have lately been discovered at Ostia (see plans and graphic restorations in G. Calza, 'Le origini latine dell'abitazione moderna,' in *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, III, 1923; and Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 136 ff., and 507). Such was also, as it seems, the insula of Felicles in Rome on the Campus Martius, a large building with many floors and staircases which was considered by the Romans as a sky-scraper. Tertullian (*Adversus Valentinianos* 7, ed. Oehler, II, p. 389) says that the innumerable series and degrees of Aeons and Emanations piled up in stages by the Gnostics reminded him of the "insula of Felicles." But most of the insulae were poor tenement-houses with dark staircases and many dark rooms. "We pay rent for darkness," said Juvenal. An official statistical record of the fourth century after Christ gives for the fourteen regions of Rome 1783 domus and 42,502 insulae. The regions which had the largest number of insulae were Regio VIII, that is to say the central region of the fora, and Regio XIV in the Trastevere. See G. Calza, 'La statistica delle abitazioni,' in *Rendiconti dei Lineei*, 1917, pp. 3 ff.; E. Cuq, 'Une statistique des locaux affectés à l'habitation,' in

tunity; flimsy tenements of wood and plaster of rapid and cheap construction filled all the available space and returned large profits to the owners and to legions of middle-men who rented and subrented small apartments and rooms, fleecing the unfortunate tenants.⁴⁰ Forced evictions, exposure, confiscation of furniture and household goods were common events, and not seldom riots and tumults of exasperated tenants kept the whole city in turmoil and had to be quelled by military repression. Not only were the rents high and the accommodation primitive; these tenements were also dangerous fire-traps. The population of Rome lived under constant fear of ruin and fires.⁴¹ These wretched structures, especially those of republican times when sun-dried bricks were mostly used, did not last long; extraordinary rainy seasons or the floods of the river in the lower part of the city, as well as the not infrequent earthquakes, brought periodical desolation to the plebeian districts. The great monuments of the empire were built of solid bricks and stone covered with marble and could defy the centuries, but the tenement-houses were of cheap material and wood, and often collapsed, unexpectedly burying under their ruins lodgers and passers-by.⁴² Still more terrifying were the outbursts of fire which once started could not be conquered otherwise than by destroying large outlying sections in order to check by exhaustion the advance of the flames.⁴³

Mém. Acad. Inscr., 1915, pp. 270 ff.; the reports of Calza in *Notizie degli Scavi*, and his other publications.

⁴⁰ "You can buy a house at Sora or Frusino for the same price at which you now rent a dark hole for a single year in Rome," Juvenal, 3, 223 ff. "D'autres malheureux, moins favorisés encore, se casent là où ils peuvent; les uns habitent sous les escaliers (subscalaria, repositiones subscalares), les autres dans des sous-sols obscurs et fumeux (fornices). Partout un entassement extraordinaire, partout un grouillement de population inouï" (L. Homo, pp. 41 and 46).

⁴¹ "I should prefer Prochyta [a savage place] to the Subura! For where has one ever seen a place so dismal and so lonely that one would not deem it worse to live in perpetual dread of fires and falling houses and the thousand perils of this terrible city?" Juv. 3, 5 ff.

⁴² Pliny remarked that the cause of the collapse of so many houses in Rome was the poor cement used by unscrupulous contractors: "Ruinarum urbis ea maxima causa quod furto calcis sine ferumino suo caementa componuntur" (N. H. xxxvi. 55).

⁴³ Tacitus' descriptions of the two great fires of A.D. 27 and 64 are well known. But destructive fires due to the large use of wood in buildings and to the crowded space

The tenement-houses, of which there were various classes according to the means of the tenants, were practically the only places open to newcomers of the lower classes, and made possible and even inevitable the formation of foreign groups and foreign districts in Rome. An interesting analogy is to be found today in the great tenement houses of various sections of New York, like the Bowery and the East Side. When a small foreign group, two or three families, coming from some European town or province settle in a tenement house, they become a centre of attraction for other newcomers of the same origin. The address of that tenement is in many cases the only guiding light that these possess on landing; to it they go, and they are sure to find a family of compatriots willing to rent them a little room, or a corner in a room to be shared with other immigrants from the same land. There are still in New York and in other great American cities rows upon rows of tenement houses in the poor districts housing thousands of persons of the same nationality or even of the same province and large groups of immigrants from the same town. Things cannot have been very different in ancient Rome.

A suggestive instance of such analogy is the narrative of Diodorus concerning Ptolemaeus Philometor king of Egypt, who, dethroned by his brother, sought a refuge in Rome, where he arrived travelling on foot with only a eunuch and three slaves, unknown by all and with no means. In Egypt he had once known an Alexandrian painter, Demetrius, who was now living in Rome. To him Ptolemaeus went, and was made welcome in a poor room on the attic floor of a tenement house, where the artist, himself evidently far from prosperous, had his abode. The deposed king was glad to share the humble lodging of the painter and stayed there until the Senate, learning of his presence, provided for him more decent accommodation.⁴⁴

were a frequent occurrence and a scourge of the plebeian sections. They were very much dreaded, and to be indicted for incendiarism was sure death. There was a large organization of 'vigiles,' firemen, kept by the state, but the primitive means which they possessed for extinguishing fires reduced their efforts to isolation by accumulating ruins around the burning buildings. See P. Werner, *De Incendiis Urbis Romae Aetate Imperatorum* (Diss.), Lipsiae, 1906, and L. Homo, pp. 15 ff.

⁴⁴ Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, xxxi. 18, ed. Dindorf, V, p. 21.

The formation of groups among foreigners related by origin is suggested also by another peculiar custom of the life of certain classes in Rome, as in other large ancient cities. The street floor of the *insulae* and *tenements* was usually occupied by small shops, entered from the street and in many cases with an adjoining room behind the shop. These shops were at once the working-place and the living-quarters of the shopkeeper and his family. It is well known also that in ancient cities which had attained a considerable commercial development, the shops for the same products or manufactured articles or of the same branch of commerce in general were mostly concentrated in the same street or district. The custom was prompted by practical motives and has come down through the Middle Ages and into modern times. At the time of Pliny the Elder there were in Rome about two hundred and sixty five 'vici,' or streets, the names of many of which are known to us.⁴⁵ Most of the names were derived either from historical or legendary events connected with the localities, or from the names of rich and powerful families who lived there or had embellished the *vicus* with some monument, or from the names of nearby temples and monuments, or finally from the special industries and trades carried on in each street. Names of this last sort are found in good number in the list of the *vici*. Not to mention the *fora*, which were market-places, chiefly of ancient origin, we find such names as *vicus unguentarius*, *vicus sandaliarius*, *vicus lorarius*, *vicus pulverarius*, *vicus vitrarius*, *vicus materiarius*, *vicus lanarius* (or *lanatarius*), *vicus inter lignarios*, and *vicus inter falcarios*, and also a *porticus margaritaria*. Moreover, from various passages of Latin writers and from inscriptions we learn that the pottery shops were on the Esquiline, those for silk in the *vicus Tuscus*, where according to Horace were also vendors of perfumes; the shoemakers were to be found in the *Argiletum* and the adjoining *Subura*, the jewellers, booksellers, purveyors of ladies' articles and of musical instruments were mostly in the *Via Sacra*. Other shops of luxury

⁴⁵ Pliny, N. H. iii. 66. See list of the known names in Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, pp. 410-411, and for sources and bibliography, Huelsen-Kiepert, *Nomenclator Topographicus Urbis Romae*, 3rd ed., 1914, pp. 145 ff.

which rivalled those of the Via Sacra were in the *saepta* of the Campus Martius and in arcades surrounding the circus. The sculptors' yards were mostly in the ninth region between the porticus Europae, the circus agonalis, and the Via Recta.⁴⁶

If we remember that in Rome various trades and arts and crafts were practised mainly by foreigners from provinces where special arts had reached a high development, it will seem natural that several Roman *vici* with names derived from trades should have been at times populated in great part by foreign groups. The freedmen whose names are numerous in the inscriptions of tradesmen, shopkeepers, and craftsmen were all of foreign origin, chiefly Greeks and orientals, and most of the free men engaged in the same occupations have Greek and oriental names.⁴⁷ The Natural History of Pliny gives much valuable information on the special trades of the various races at Rome and on the special products sent to the Roman market from the several provinces.⁴⁸

But there are still other sources from which something may be learned about the location of important foreign groups in Rome. It seems that very early in the Republican period the Aventine hill, then an important plebeian section of the city, was inhabited by large groups of foreigners connected more or less closely with industrial or commercial work. This section was close to the docks of the Tiber and also outside the pomerium, or sacred precinct of the city, where only the '*dii indigetes*' could have temples and altars and all foreign cults ('*sacra peregrina*') were excluded.⁴⁹ It was thus a convenient

⁴⁶ Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens*, 1890, pp. 8-11; Friedländer, I, pp. 161 ff.

⁴⁷ Beside the results of the surveys already mentioned of Frank, Park, and Kuehn, see the lists made mostly from epigraphic sources by V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Diss.), Breslau, 1909, pp. 39 ff. Also Frank, *EHR.*, p. 209.

⁴⁸ We should know much more on this point if we possessed the lost writings of Varro and especially "*De Vita Populi Romani libri IV ad Atticum*," in which, according to Servius the scholiast of Virgil, Varro told "*quid Romani a quoque traxerint gente per imitationem*" (Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, 3rd ed., I, p. 185; I, 2, p. 446; Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani*, 1907, pp. 229-245).

⁴⁹ The selection of the Aventine hill as a residence-place for foreigners probably goes back to the date of the *Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando* (Dionysius of Halicar-

place for foreigners to settle, and since they always brought their national deities with them, it was on the Aventine hill that the foreign gods and cults had their first Roman shrines.⁵⁰ It was not included in the successive enlargement of the pomerium made by Sulla and Caesar. Augustus himself, although he included the Aventine in his regional rearrangement of the city, left it outside the pomerium. Only under Claudius was the Aventine finally taken in; but at that period many of the foreign deities which were objects of worship there had been adopted by the Senate, a number of foreign groups had settled in other sections of the city, and the Aventine was losing its character of a popular district.

During the last century of the republic the Aventine was already overpopulated, and could not offer hospitality to newcomers. From that time "not only the foreign deities last to arrive no longer took the road to the plebeian hill, but also the ever growing throngs of their humble worshippers began to gather elsewhere."⁵¹ The fire of the year 36 under Tiberius

nassus, *Antiq. Roman.* x. 31-32), which is usually assigned to the year 456 B.C., but which according to Pais (in Crivellucci, *Studi Storici*, II, 1893, p. 328) must be brought down to about the middle of the fourth century B.C. The law undoubtedly aimed at providing new building-space for the overcrowded plebeians of the city, who, led by the tribune Icilius, claimed the public lands of the Aventine, which were partly already usurped by rich politicians (*L. Homo*, pp. 63 ff.). Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1906, pp. 69-87, holds, and it seems with good reason, that the law not only granted lands to the plebs and provided more suitable quarters for the Italians of the conquered cities (who were compelled to settle in Rome and up to that time had camped on the low marshy ground where later the Circus Maximus stood), but also assigned land on the same hill to the foreign merchants who settled in Rome for their business. There is no doubt that very early there were in the Aventine district many people engaged in commercial enterprises and trades. The presence on the Aventine of a very old collegium mercatorum, which according to Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I, p. 536) was identical with the Pagus Aventinensis, would confirm this interpretation of the Lex Icilia. See Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les Corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, I, 1895, p. 41.

⁵⁰ The establishment on the Aventine of foreign groups with their national gods and cults is of great importance in the history of Roman religion, since the process which in the long run brought about the identification of so many deities with the gods of Rome and the adoption of so many foreign cults by the Romans, received its first impulse and its first practical application on that spot.

⁵¹ Merlin, p. 287. Large numbers of laborers, transporters of wares on the river, stevedores, and sailors began to settle near the emporia or on the opposite side of the river.

and the still more serious conflagration of 64 under Nero, laid a great part of the Aventine in ruins, and with the new buildings which took the place of those destroyed by the fire the hill began to be transformed into one of the most aristocratic residential sections of Rome. The transformation was, however, accomplished very slowly, and only about the middle of the third century could it be considered complete. Traces of its old popular and foreign character still remained, even after the change, because several vici of the two Aventine regions kept their original names, recalling foreign cults or foreign groups which had at one time had their abode there.⁵²

When Christianity reached Rome, the Aventine was still an unfashionable quarter, inhabited mostly by plebeians, many of whom were foreigners or of foreign extraction, and there, as Martial says, one had no great need of education or good manners, in contrast to the major Coelius and minor, where were the *limina potentiorum*.⁵³ Incidentally we may notice that a Roman tradition placed the seat of one of the first Christian groups in Rome on the Aventine, and that later, when the city was divided into ecclesiastical districts, the Aventine formed the first region of the administrative system of the Christian community.⁵⁴

Of the foreign groups formed outside the Aventine during the first three centuries of the empire, some traces can be gathered from the historical and archaeological evidence concerning the introduction and expansion of foreign religious cults in

⁵² A list of vici of the Aventine is found in CIL. VI, 975, an inscription in honor of the emperor Hadrian dedicated in the year 136. Unfortunately in the reconstruction of the Forma Urbis the Aventine is represented by only a few fragments, which have added very little to what was already known about its topography. Among the names of the vici which suggest the ancient foreign groups settled there are the vicus Fortunae Mammosae, the vicus Isis Athenodoraë, the aedes Parthorum, and others. See Merlin, pp. 295 ff.

⁵³ Martial, xii. 18.

⁵⁴ This Christian tradition about the Aventine is not supported by any conclusive historical or archaeological evidence. On the contrary the evidence, such as that concerning the title of St. Prisca (Priscilla), shows that the identification of the two names was made only in the ninth century. See Duchesne, 'Les légendes chrétiennes de l'Aventin,' *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, X, 1890.

Rome. Temples and localities affected to national cults imported by immigrants into a city with a large population of foreign extraction may be reasonably considered as marking places where foreign groups once had their residence. The shrines of national gods were usually served by a national priesthood living in adjoining buildings. These often contained also cenatoria and triclinia for the use of the religious associations connected with the cults which had their headquarters there.

Unfortunately the reconstruction of the topography of ancient Rome has not yet solved many problems concerning the exact location of various temples and scholæ connected with foreign cults. Moreover, the evidence that we have on this point is often valid only for certain periods, since the topographical changes due to new constructions and the propaganda of these cults, as they gained devotees among the natives or among people of other nationalities, could not fail to bring about changes in localities and centres of attraction. Furthermore, the constant influx of newcomers and foreign crowds into the various districts of Rome during the empire must have caused also a continuous shifting and remaking of groups. It was like a bank of sand on the seashore, which changes its form with the inrush of the waves at every new storm.

In the Campus Martius there was apparently during the first century after Christ a considerable group of Alexandrians and Egyptians.⁵⁵ Close political and commercial relations between Rome and Alexandria had been established long before, culminating in the conquest of Egypt by the Romans at the end of the republican period.⁵⁶ The large commercial and industrial relations between Alexandria and Rome through Puteoli, and the fact that even in that period Rome appears so much influenced by Alexandrian art, literature, and even religion, leaves no doubt that at the end of the republic merchants, artists, men

⁵⁵ G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1884, pp. 156 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225. On the relations between Rome and Egypt in the imperial times and the place of Egypt in the general economic and politico-social history of the empire see Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 255-274, and the valuable new chapter in the second edition of Frank, *EHR*, pp. 374-408.

of learning, and quacks, free men, liberti, and slaves, and every kind of immigrants from Egypt formed an important part of the foreign population of Rome. It was in the Campus Martius that the great temple of Isis was built in the time of Caligula or Claudius, and later a Serapeum was erected, while nearby were also the schola of the collegium cantorum and all the necessary buildings for the priests and attendants of the temple. This section of the Campus Martius, as Lafaye remarks, was undoubtedly the meeting-place and chief residence-section for the Egyptians in Rome, and contained *bien autre chose* besides the two temples.⁵⁷

The Iseum and Serapeum of the Campus Martius were not the only shrines of the Egyptian deities in Rome. Isis and Serapis gained many devotees among all classes and all races of the Roman population. Several of those shrines were probably due to the religious zeal of mixed worshippers or to wealthy individuals of various races. But others, especially those located in the plebeian districts, where the foreign element was large, may also be considered as pointing to the existence of other groups of Alexandrians and Egyptians in the neighborhood of these shrines.⁵⁸ Inscriptions found in various places connected with the Isiac cult and containing almost exclusively names of Alexandrians and Egyptians, merchants and soldiers, actors and athletes, freedmen and slaves, confirm this assumption.⁵⁹

A Syrian group seems to have had its earlier meeting-place and headquarters on the Aventine around the Dolicenum or shrine of a national god, the Baal of Doliche.⁶⁰ About the

⁵⁷ Lafaye, p. 225.

⁵⁸ Archaeological evidence shows that besides the Iseum et Serapeum of the Campus Martius in Regio IX there were Isiac temples or shrines in Regio II (Coelimontana), Regio III, which was known for a long time as Regio Isidis et Serapidis, Regio V (Esquelinum), which had the Iseum of the vicus Patricius not far from the Subura, Regio VI (Alta Semita), Regio VIII near the Forum, and Regio XII (Aventinum, or piscina publica), in which was the shrine or altar of Isis Athenodora. Of many other shrines and mansiones which undoubtedly existed at times, no traces have been found. The archaeological and historical evidence concerning the shrines mentioned above has been collected and discussed by Lafaye, pp. 200-228.

⁵⁹ Lafaye, pp. 229 ff.

⁶⁰ Merlin, pp. 317 ff.

middle of the second century after Christ the headquarters of another Syrian group were on the Janiculum, where stood the shrine of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and of other Syrian gods and goddesses on the ancient sacred spot in the *Lucus Furrinae*. Traces of *cenatoria* show that the place was also used by the collegium of the worshippers of the deity, and inscriptions related to the cult, found not only in the same place but also in the slopes of the hill, suggest that in the underlying district towards the Tiber groups of Syrians had their residence.⁶¹ Another small Syrian centre was on the Esquiline, with another temple and collegium of the same god.⁶²

An instructive example of the changes that time and the continuous influx of newcomers into Rome would cause to the shrines of foreign gods was brought to light by P. Gaukler in his excavation of the site of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on the Janiculum. From his discoveries it was evident that the shrine was first built about the middle of the first century after Christ. It was a small chapel hidden in the 'lucus,' such as a small number of foreign devotees could afford. In 176 A.D. it was superseded by a much larger building with a court, a marble fountain, and accommodation for gatherings of *collegia* and associations. The inscription of the fountain records that it was built by Gaionas *δειπνοκρίτης* and *κίστιβερ*, already known from other Roman inscriptions.⁶³ He was a Syrian, and probably a priest of the temple. But in the new temple Jupiter Heliopolitanus is not the only god; there are with him other Syrian gods, who have a share, though a minor one, in the cult. The Syrian groups in the Trastevere had grown in numbers during the second century, and the Janiculum had become the holy place of their national cults.⁶⁴ From the middle of the third century, after the fall of the Severian dynasty, under which the Syrians enjoyed the favor of the court,

⁶¹ The ruins of the temple were found in the excavations carried on by P. Gaukler from 1908 to his death in 1911. His reports and studies on the subject were collected in a volume, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule*, Paris, 1912. See chapter III, 'Les fouilles du *Lucus Furrinae*,' pp. 69-92.

⁶² Visconti, *Bullettino Comunale di Archeologia*, 1875, pp. 223 ff.

⁶³ Gaukler, pp. 8 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff. and 139-171.

the temple on the Janiculum passed into a period of decline, and it was finally closed by the Christian emperors in 341. The short revival of heathenism under Julian the Apostate caused the rebuilding of the temple on a still larger scale, but this time the Jupiter there worshipped was not so much the national god of the Syrians as the syncretistic sun-god of the short-lived Julian reformation.⁶⁵

It is interesting also to remark that the *lucus Furrinae* where the temple stood was a sacred spot for the Romans. The Syrians in building their shrine there adopted also the ancient local deity. Several inscriptions contain combined dedications "*Iovi Heliopolitano et Genio Furrinarum.*"⁶⁶ The two elements, old and new, the local and the foreign traditions, continued to live side by side in the foreign groups which thus attempted to adapt themselves to their Roman environment.

Not far from the Janiculum, beyond *porta Portuensis* in the so-called gardens of Caesar, was a shrine of the national god of the immigrants from Palmyra. Several inscriptions found nearby have dedications *θεοῖς πατρώοις* of the Palmyrenes and especially *Βήλω Ἰαριβόλω*, who appears also under the name 'Malakbelo' or 'Ares' or simply 'the Baal of Palmyra' (*Βήλου Διὸς τοῦ Παλμυρηνοῦ*).⁶⁷ But, as we have seen, in the second century the cult of the national gods of Palmyra is found associated with the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on the Janiculum. This evidence suggests that the Palmyrene colony was also largely represented on the slopes of the Janiculum side by side with the other Syrians.

The Phrygian and Asiatic devotees of the *Magna Mater*, whose great shrine was on the Palatine, where the goddess had been officially admitted by the Senate in the year 204 B.C., formed also large and important groups in imperial Rome. The temple on the Palatine was reserved to the cult maintained by the state, but there, within the sacred precincts, only the Phrygian priests and the servants of the temple had their residence. The Phrygian immigrants, mostly of servile origin,

⁶⁵ Gaukler, ch. VIII, 'Les trois temples superposés du *Lucus Furrinae*,' pp. 221-256.

⁶⁶ CIL. VI, 422; Gaukler, p. 10.

⁶⁷ See the bilingual inscription in Greek and Palmyrene languages, CIL. VI, 710.

had other shrines dedicated to the Great Mother and to Attis. There was one at the foot of the Aventine near the Circus Maximus in Regio XI, another in Regio XIII dedicated to the Magna Mater and to 'Navis Salvia,' with a college of cultores. The Great Mother was invoked by sailors and sea travellers in Asia, and her shrine in Rome, not far from the docks of the Tiber, was at hand to receive the thanks of those who arrived safely and the prayers of those who were ready to sail for Asiatic ports. Another Phrygian temple was in the Trastevere, a region inhabited almost entirely by foreigners. The shrine of the Great Mother and Attis, a landmark of the region, rose in the most crowded part of the Trastevere, between the Janiculum and the Tiber where the river describes a semicircle. Another important shrine of the Metroac cult was on the Vatican, the Phrygianum near the Circus of Caligula, in which later the taurobolia were often celebrated.⁶⁸ The presence of Phrygian and Asiatic groups in those places can be surmised, but obviously their most important centre was in the Trastevere, not far from the Syrian groups.

The Africans on the contrary seem to have preferred the slopes of the Caeliolus in Regio II of the Augustean division (Regio I Suburana of republican times), through which ran the famous vicus Capitis Africae where stood the well known Paedagogium Caesaris, and probably other vici whose names have a distinct African flavor, such as vicus Syrtes, vicus Byzacenus, and vicus Capsensis.⁶⁹

Where the historical evidence concerns the Jewish settle-

⁶⁸ H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle Mère des Dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1912, chap. IX, 'Sanctuaires de Magna Mater à Rome et à Ostie,' pp. 320-345.

⁶⁹ The topography of the vicus Capitis Africae (which does not coincide with the modern street of the same name) was established by Lanciani, *Bull. Com. arch.*, 1884, pp. 315 ff. On the Paedagogium Caesaris see Gatti, 'Del Caput Africae nella seconda regione di Roma,' *Annali dell'Istituto di Corr. Arch.*, Rome, 1882, pp. 191-220. The names of the other vici are found in the document known as the Appendix Probi, which has been often reprinted (by W. Heraeus, Teubner, 1899, and more recently by W. Förster and E. Koschwitz in *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, 1907, pp. 226-234). The opinion of G. Paris and others that the names of these vici belonged to Carthage and not to Rome has not found many followers, and the Roman origin of the document is commonly accepted (Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litt.*, III, 2, p. 145). Varro (*De lingua lat.* v. 159) mentions also a vicus Africanus, so named because "ibi obsides ex Africa bello Punico dicuntur custoditi." But it was in Regio III (Esquilinae).

ments in Rome, it is more definite and of more lasting value, because while for other foreigners living together was only a convenience, for the Jews it was made a necessity by their religious law, which forbade them to mingle with gentiles in many of the activities of every-day life and especially in the choice and use of food. Thus while the immigrants of other nationalities lived together so long as they felt it desirable or useful, but were free to go away from their group when drawn into the current of a larger social life, or absorbed in the racial mixture, the Jews were bound to their group by vital interests, and always remained within it, resisting all attempts at assimilation with other races. Consequently the Jewish community had a marked individuality and lasted virtually unchanged for centuries. It was divided into several groups. The oldest settlement was in the Trastevere region: but in the first century another was formed outside porta Capena, which soon became the largest; a third group settled in the Subura and still another in the outskirts of the Campus Martius.⁷⁰

Besides these groups of foreigners which contributed so largely to the urban classes and represented the various customs, traditions, and beliefs of the whole empire, there were also other foreign elements in Rome in the military stations. After the reëstablishment of peace Augustus and his successors kept the legions and the auxiliary troops on the frontiers or in the provinces outside Italy; but in Rome were the praetorian guard, the 'equites singulares,' the 'cohortes urbanae,' which did police work, and the 'vigiles,' militarized firemen, who also did police duty. Large groups of 'classarii,' the marines of the two fleets of Misenum and Ravenna, had also, especially in winter time, their barracks in Rome. Later other military bodies entrusted with various duties were established, such as the 'frumentarii,' and various kinds of 'stationarii.'⁷¹

⁷⁰ Evidence for the location of these Jewish groups in Rome is found not only in the Latin authors of the first three centuries, but also in the large number of inscriptions which have been found in the rediscovered ancient Jewish cemeteries. See below, chapters VI and VII.

⁷¹ See the corresponding articles in Pauly-Wissowa. The institution, organization, and history of the Roman vigiles is thoroughly studied by P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *The*

It is well known that the Roman army had ceased to be recruited in Rome. Under Augustus the legions were recruited chiefly in Italy among the citizens, while the auxiliary troops were drawn from the provinces. Beginning with Vespasian the Italians were gradually eliminated and the legions made up mostly from the provincial middle classes, which in their turn from the period of the Antonines were superseded by the peasantry and later by barbarian populations.⁷² The praetorian guard continued to be chiefly recruited in Italy down to the time of Septimius Severus, who opened its ranks to the provincials especially from Illyria, Africa, and Syria. From that time on the praetorian guard was a permanent military body of foreigners in the heart of Rome.⁷³ Moreover, the same Severus, breaking the tradition, stationed a legion at Alba at the doors of Rome (II Parthica), and in the following period of military anarchy legions on legions of soldiers from the remotest parts of the empire passed through Rome and lived for a time in the city or its vicinity.⁷⁴ The marines of the fleets were mostly provincials: the lower classes and the freedmen

Vigiles of Imperial Rome, 1926 (see especially ch. III, 'Stations and Excubitoria,' pp. 43-63). The *frumentarii* were organized by Hadrian as a police force, but were mostly used as spies. Under Septimius Severus they were stationed at the *castra peregrina*. CIL. VI, 230, 231, 354. See Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of Septimius Severus*, Oxford, 1918, p. 160.

⁷² The successive changes in the formation of the Roman army are described and analyzed by Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 43 ff. (under Augustus); pp. 104 ff. (under the Flavians and the Antonines); pp. 353 ff. and 378 ff. (under the Severians); pp. 457 ff. (under the despotism). Bibliography and references, pp. 499, 518, 585, 616.

⁷³ The praetorian guard was originally formed by nine or ten cohorts (Dio Cassius, *lv. 24*), each of a thousand men. Only three cohorts were stationed in Rome during Augustus's time. Tiberius assembled them in the capital. Vitellius increased the cohorts to sixteen. They were chosen from Etruria, Umbria, the ancient Latium, and from the Roman colonies of Italy (Tacitus, *Hist. v. 84*; and lists in the "Latercula" CIL. VI, 2375-2383, from 119 to 187 A.D.). Gradually a few from the Roman colonies of Macedonia, Noricum, and Spain were admitted. Severus disbanded the old guard and formed a new one four times larger, drawing the soldiers from his Illyrian troops and from various elements of the legions. The guard was thus entirely made up of foreign races (Platnauer, p. 158).

⁷⁴ Severus built new barracks for the increased troops. The *castra Severiana* on the Coelian were due to him. It is probable also that the *castra peregrina* were built in his time, for there is no reference to this camp earlier than the third century (CIL. VI, 354). That these castra were used for foreign troops is certain, at least from the time of Severus Alexander.

were admitted to their ranks even in Augustus's time, and, as is shown by the inscriptions, many of these were orientals.⁷⁵ The 'equites singulares' appear on the contrary to have often been natives of the northern provinces, Helvetia, Pannonia, Dacia, Noricum, Germania, and Britannia.⁷⁶ The castra praetoria between porta Nomentana and porta Viminalis, the castra equitum singularium in the Campus Coelemontanus, the castra Misenatium in Regio III, the castra Ravennatium in the Trastevere, and the castra peregrina on the Coelian, were most of the time centres of foreign infiltration in Roman life. When we reflect on the part that this imperial soldier played not only in Roman politics but also in spreading foreign religions and cults and in the whole social life of Rome, we must recognize the vast importance of the presence of these foreign elements in the military stations of Rome.

The life of the foreign groups in Rome will receive further light from the study of their associations and of their religious cults. It was mainly through these that in the process of racial mixture foreign elements of tradition and custom permeated the whole social organism of the city. With the growing economic and political importance of the provinces, the levelling policy of the emperors, the rise of new classes which superseded the old stock, and the religious syncretism which undermined the nationalistic spirit of the old religions, Rome, the denationalized capital of the great empire, came to be ruled by the offspring of races which originally had come to the city only to serve.⁷⁷ It must not be forgotten, however, that in the

⁷⁵ CIL. VI, 3092-3162.

⁷⁶ CIL. VI, 3173-3323.

⁷⁷ The history of the artistic development of Rome, especially in architecture and the plastic arts, might also throw light on this subject of the influence of foreign groups in Roman life, but it is too extensive and too technical a subject to be dealt with in the present study. To form an idea of the importance of such a research it is sufficient to read the suggestive chapters on Roman architecture in Cagnat-Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, I, especially chap. VII, 'Temples de tradition étrangère,' pp. 160 ff. and II, chap. V, 'Développement historique' (the art of painting), pp. 22 ff. An instance of the interesting results for our subject which could be attained is afforded by Strzygowski's conclusion (*Origin of Christian Art*, 1925, p. 65) as to the temple of Minerva Medica in Rome, which appears to him to have been built "by Armenian workmen who at that time were to be found in large numbers in Rome."

process of amalgamation and fusion of races, as well as in the social changes in the city, the Roman element and the Roman tradition contributed the vital forces that held the organism together, that is to say, the political and juridical institutions, which were, and which remained, essentially Roman.

II

THE FOREIGNERS IN THE ROMAN ENVIRONMENT;
PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS IN ANCIENT ROME

THE common interests which bound the members of a foreign group together led them to organize associations and clubs, which very often assumed a religious character. During the empire, since political associations ('factiones') were forbidden, the purpose of the associations formed among foreigners in Rome had to be either economic or religious and social. An economic purpose seems to have been in part the motive that caused the rise of those peculiar institutions called 'stationes' of foreign merchants and business men; while the associations of 'cultores' of foreign deities had primarily a religious function, and the professional and trade associations and other minor societies seem to have had a social purpose, mainly in connection with funeral rites and celebrations. This classification, however, is made rather to throw light on the variety of motives which stood behind the associated life of the groups, than to describe the real character of the associations. As we shall see later, religious activities became a common characteristic of all of them; and with the exception of the stationes, which for various reasons formed a class apart, funerary obligations were assumed by all associations towards their members.

The need of practising in their new residence the religious cults of their land of origin is undoubtedly one of the leading causes which led immigrants to form associations of a religious character. Even in modern America immigrants from the various European countries build churches and form congregations belonging to the different Christian denominations, although churches of the same denominations are already in existence among the native population. But besides this motive of the practice of their religion in their own national form, there is even to-day another, no less strong, which explains not only the rise of associations among foreigners but also the large number of such institutions within the circles of immigrant population in the same city. This motive may perhaps appear

less conspicuous in ancient Rome, where all associations, at least externally, assumed a religious color, but it was no less urgent and efficient there than it is at the present time in America. The associations of immigrants, especially of natives of the same town or province, even when they take a religious form, are due in good part to the need so urgently felt in such circles for a social life adapted to their peculiar social conditions and tastes. At the same time these associations represent a reaction against all the forms of oppression, restriction, and social exclusion to which foreigners are usually subjected.

The incoming of large foreign masses never fails to rouse distrust, fear, and resentment in the native or dominant race, even when imported labor is necessary for the economic life of the country and for all the humble but essential services of a highly organized community life. This hostility mixed with contempt may even assume acute form, especially when, as almost always happens, the newcomers belong to races which the older inhabitants rightly or wrongly consider inferior in civilization and progress, or decadent and exhausted, and whose contribution to an ultimate racial mixture they fear will tend to injure the purity and strength of their own stock.

This was exactly the attitude of the ancient Romans towards the people who came into the capital from the various provinces of the East and West. It was naturally suggested by the fact that most of those foreigners had been brought to Rome as slaves; they belonged to races and nations conquered by the Romans and therefore inferior, or had been brought in for trade like cattle. Even when the newcomers were free men, the proud Roman felt his immense superiority over them, as members of conquered nations or at any rate barbarians. Servile labor, which became more and more available and more and more indispensable, changed entirely the basis of the ancient economic system of Rome and with it the whole social life, and had inevitable repercussions on Roman political life and political institutions. The "*laudatores temporis acti*" bitterly regretted those changes and denounced the foreigners for the contamination of the "*patrii mores.*" Although already during the first century of the empire the old Roman stock was

being submerged by racial mixture, and the old aristocracy was disappearing before a new aristocracy mostly of provincial origin, yet these new Romans inherited all the older prejudice and fear and contempt for the last comers.

Thus Marcus Cornelius Fronto, an African from Cirta and the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, by whom he was held in high esteem, a man who became senator and consul designatus, of large culture and considered the most elegant Latin writer of his time, complains in his letters that he has never found among the Romans any sincere and warm friendship:

Simplicity, continence, truthfulness, honor, are Roman virtues, but warmth in affection is not Roman. Nothing is rarer in this city than a man unfeignedly φιλόστοργος. The reason why the Latin language actually has no word for this virtue must be, I imagine, that in reality no one at Rome has any warm affection.¹

In spite of all the honors heaped on him and the high offices he held, Fronto felt himself always a foreigner in Rome and gave vent to his resentment at the lack of φιλοστοργία and real friendship by saying that, after all, he was proud to be an African and a barbarian.²

On the other hand the Roman writers of both the republican and the imperial period — historians, philosophers, and poets, abound in bitter denunciation of the evils brought to Rome by foreigners and in disparaging characterization of the various non-roman races. Not only such men as the rigid and ever grumbling Cato, whose utterances we read chiefly in Pliny's

¹ Epistle to Lucius Verus of 163 A.D. (Ed. Haines in Loeb Class. Library, 1920, II, p. 154).

² Epistle to Domitia Lucilla: "I will compare myself with Anacharsis, not by Heaven, in wisdom, but as being like him a barbarian. For he was a Scythian of the nomad Scythians, and I am a Lybian of the Lybian nomads" (I, p. 136). And writing to Marcus Aurelius, Fronto again calls himself a barbarian: "This letter is by the hand of this foreigner [τοῦ ξένου ἀνδρός, namely himself], in speech little short of a barbarian, but as regards judgment, as I think, not wholly wanting in sagacity" (I, p. 20). The letters of Marcus Aurelius abound in even extravagant praise of his teacher. In one of them his admiration is thus expressed: "Ne valeam nisi aliqua die virga in manus tibi tradenda erit, diadema circumponendum, tribunal ponendum: tum praeco omnes nos citaret, quid nos dico? omnes, inquam, philologos et disertos istos, eos tu singula virga perduceres, verbis moneres." The letter ends with these salutations: "Vale, decus eloquentiae Romanae, amicorum gloria, μέγα πρᾶγμα, homo iucundissime, consul amplexissime, magister dulcissime" (I, p. 128).

Natural History, not only such men as Cicero himself, a 'homo novus,'³ and Juvenal and Martial and Pliny, who were fully romanized Italians, but even Seneca and Lucan, both of Spanish origin, express in outspoken words their contempt and disgust for the foreign crowds of Rome. In their eyes Rome had become the dumping-place of the whole world,⁴ and there was no vice, no corruption, no ill practice that these foreign crowds had not imported with them, lowering all the standards of Roman life and invading all activities and offices and classes, so that Cicero fears that the state itself is falling into the hands of slaves.⁵

Cicero's fear was not exaggerated, for only a few generations later freedmen and slaves at the court of the emperors often played a prominent part in the government. In Cicero's own times the *liberti* were a power to be reckoned with in Roman electoral campaigns notwithstanding the restrictions enacted in the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus by which freedmen could vote in only one of the city tribes, to be chosen by lot for each lustrum. Later they obtained the right to vote in four tribes, but not more.⁶

The more indispensable became the services of these masses of foreigners to the city and the greater grew their numbers, the stronger were the misgivings of the conservative classes and older groups.

We walk with the feet of foreigners (*lecticarii*), recognize our acquaintances with the eyes of foreigners (*anagnostae*), greet them with the voice of foreigners (*nomenclatores*), and even are kept alive by the care of foreigners (*medici*),

³ Addressing the Roman people against the agrarian laws proposed by the tribune Rullus, Cicero thanks them for having elected him consul and mentions the fact that he was the first "homo novus" to reach the highest Roman magistrature. According to the "mores et instituta maiorum" for such an occasion a eulogy of the family ancestors by the speaker was expected, but Cicero, not being of old Roman stock but from the little town of Arpinum, had nothing to say about them and confessed his inability to comply with the custom: "Mihi, Quirites, apud vos de meis maioribus dicendi facultas non datur, quod laude populari atque honoris vestri luce caruerunt" (*De lege agraria*, ii. 1).

⁴ "Sentina," Cic. ad Atticum i. 19 (ed. Winstedt, Loeb Class. Library, 1912, I, p. 86): "Romam, mundi faece repletam," Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 340.

⁵ "Nonne ad servos videtis rem venturam?"

⁶ Park, *The Plebs in Cicero's Day*, pp. 41 ff.

complained Pliny, adding sarcastically, "*Nihil aliud pro nostro habemus quam delicias.*"⁷

The indignation of the old Romans was most outspoken against the Greeks and orientals on whom fell the largest share of responsibility for the contamination of Roman life, but the westerners themselves, though many of them were from Roman colonies and could boast Roman descent, did not remain unscathed in the abuse of the Roman writers.⁸ The Greeks of course were deemed the worst of the lot. A Roman citizen of the conservative class, even when he began to know and appreciate the glories of Greek civilization and set himself to learn from the Greeks something of art and the sciences or actually adopted Greek customs and the Greek language, did not hesitate to express with brutal frankness his utter contempt for the Greeks who tramped the pavements of Rome in search of a livelihood. For him they were the degenerate descendants of a mighty race, the sun of whose glory had set forever, giving place to the triumphant power of Rome.⁹ The common people, too, who did not know, and did not care to know, "the glory that was Greece," saw in the hungry *Graeculi* only a crowd of schemers and parasites, always ready to bid for the favor of the rich by adulation and abject servility, but lazy and cowardly in the face of danger.¹⁰

⁷ "*Alienis pedibus ambulamus, alienis oculis agnoscimus, aliena memoria salutamus, aliena vivimus opera,*" N. H. xxix. 1, 8; "*Vincendo victi sumus; paremus externis,*" N. H. xxiv. 1, 1.

⁸ An interesting study on the various judgments passed by Latin writers on the character of the nationalities of the Roman world was made by E. Wölfflin, '*Zur Psychologie der Völker des Alterthums,*' in *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 133-146, 333-342. Also Friedländer, I, pp. 104 ff.

⁹ The least that the Romans of the cultured class could say about the Greeks was that they did not restrain their '*levitas*' even before sacred things and that they never respected their promises and oaths. "*Hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis literas, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copias: testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam ista natio coluit,*" Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 4, 9.

¹⁰ The '*otium Graecum*' was proverbial, and Cicero did not hesitate to affirm that "*omnes Graeci negligetiores sunt*" (*Ep.* xvi. 4, 2), that they were cowards (*non satis animosi hostem aspicere non possunt*, *Tusc.* ii. 65), their loquacity (*quotidiana loquacitas*, *De orat.* i. 105), their ineptitude (*hoc vitio — ineptum esse — cumulata est eruditissima Graecorum natio*, *De orat.* ii. 17), and above all their shameless readiness to flatter the rich (*Graeca adulatio*, *Tac. Ann.* vi. 18) in the hope of getting money,

"A perverse and stubborn race," Cato called them;¹¹ and Pliny, to sweeten the dose, added, "The Greeks are the fathers of all vices."¹² "Avoid all contact with Greeks," warned Seneca, "for it is they who introduce and encourage vice."¹³ No better was the opinion held by the Romans of the Syrians and other oriental populations, whose 'levitas' was matched only by that of the Greeks. "Not good for much, fit only to be slaves," was a common description of them. The epithet 'timid' was invariably coupled with the name Syrian, and the patient resignation of these folk roused the scorn of the proud heir of Quirinus. "Patient as donkeys" was the character given them by common consent.¹⁴ The stupidity of the Phrygians, the empty verbosity of the Persians, the criminal hypocrisy and maleficent arts of the Egyptians, the perfidy and superstition of the Africans, the selfishness and rapacity of the Jews, and the failings of all other races represented among the alien population of Rome, were the object of biting satires, which helped to keep alive Roman dislike and contempt.¹⁵

or at least a supper, were common characteristics of many immigrants from the hellenized provinces, and caused the invention of a new verb 'pergraecari,' which according to the grammarian Festus meant "epulis et potationibus inservire," ed. Lindsay, Leipzig, 1913, xv. 235.

¹¹ "Nequissimum et indocile genus illorum," quoted by Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxix. 7.

¹² "Graeci vitiorum omnium genitores," Nat. Hist. xv. 5. Cato, in Pliny's quotation, ends a long indictment of the Greeks by saying: "Satis esse ingenia Graecorum inspicere, non perdiscere," xxix. 9.

¹³ Ep. 123, 8 (Loeb Class. Library, III, p. 428). The many passages of the Latin satirical poets are well known.

¹⁴ "Vilissima genera hominum et servituti nata" (Livy, xxxvi. 17, 5); "nationes natae servituti" (Cic., De prov. cons. 5, 10); "Suri genus quod patientissimum est hominum" (Plautus, Trin. 542).

¹⁵ On the common denunciation of the Phrygians see a collection of texts in Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste* (Paris, 1913, pp. 4-5); on the "vaniloqui Persae," Ausonius (Epigr. 42, 4); on the Alexandrians and Egyptians, Seneca, Dial. x. 3, 7, and G. Lombroso, 'Osservazioni antiche e moderne sul carattere degli Alessandrini,' in *Atti dei Lincei*, Ser. II, Tom. III, 1879, pp. 354 ff. Such phrases as "imbellis Asia" and "perfidia Punica" were common; but especially the Africans were despised by the Romans: "in Venerem precipites" (Livy, xxx. 12, 18); "insidiosa natio"; "genus hominum infidum" (Sallust, De bello Num. 91, 7); "docilis fallendi et nectere tectos numquam tarda dolos" (Silius Ital. ii. 231); and even Lactantius, himself an African, calls his people "vani qui monstrosa et ridicula mirantur" (Inst. xx. 36). Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans are for Cicero "wild barbaric peoples" (Ep. ad Quintum, i. 2, 27). Even the Italian provinces do not fare better; the "arrogantia, insolentia et

To a man of Cato's type the main objection to foreigners was their incapacity to understand and to live by the traditions of the Roman "*mores maiorum*"; their culture was not despicable, but it increased artificial needs and weakened the race, their sciences were mostly humbug, and the earlier Romans who had been ignorant of them had been the happier for it. A man like Cicero greatly admired the cultural and artistic achievements of the Greeks, but when he spoke as a politician he blamed foreigners for their lack of political education, which made of the Roman alien rabble of former slaves an easy instrument of trouble in the hands of demagogues; when he spoke as a lawyer he denounced their untrustworthiness as witnesses in trials;¹⁶ as a Roman philosopher he pointed to their lack of '*gravitas*' as the obvious mark of congenital inferiority. The Roman '*gravitas*' was still in Cicero's time the distinguishing characteristic of the genuine Roman gentleman; the term expressed almost the sum total of all Roman virtues and noble traditions.¹⁷ And exactly what all those foreigners who crowded the streets of Rome did not possess was the '*gravitas*' and the '*decorum*' of the lofty Roman race. Their main fault was their '*levitas*,' the perennial stain of lower races. After the time of Caligula and Nero, when the '*gravitas Romana*'

superbia" of the Campanians (Cic., *De lege agr.* ii. 91, 95), the "*levitas Sicana*" (Silius Ital. xiv. 291), and similar phrases were commonplaces among the Romans.

¹⁶ Cicero in his defense of his client Flaccus, accused of extortion during his Asiatic governorship, could not find a better way of refuting the witnesses of the prosecution who had come from Phrygia to testify against Flaccus than to assume that because they were Phrygians they were not trustworthy. "*Quam ob rem quaeso a vobis, Asiatice testes, ut, cum vere recordari voletis, quantum auctoritatis in iudicium adferatis, vosmet ipsi describatis Asiam nec quid alienigenae de vobis loqui soleant, sed quid vosmet ipsi de genere vestro statuatis, memineritis. . . . Utrum igitur nostrum est an vestrum hoc proverbium 'Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem'?*" (*Pro Flacco*, 27, 65). In his defense of Fronteius (21 ff.) Cicero shows no less contempt for the witnesses from Gaul: "*Potestis igitur,*" he challenges the judges, "*ignotos notis, iniquos aequis, alienigenas domesticis . . . anteferre?*" (*Pro Front.* 10).

¹⁷ How far the conception of *gravitas* could carry a Roman of Cicero's type is made clear in that peculiar bit of casuistry found in *De officiis*, iii. 24. A rich man leaves to a '*sapiens*' a legacy of one hundred million sesterces on condition that he dance in the Forum in broad daylight. The '*sapiens*,' says Cicero, must not accept, "*et id arbitror fuisse gravitatis*"; it is better for him to lose the inheritance, unless he wishes to contribute the money to the state to meet some grave crisis.

had received hard blows from the highest representatives of the state, we hear much less of this ancient Roman virtue, except occasionally from such writers as Seneca or Tacitus. It is then not so much their 'levitas' that constituted the most grievous sin of the foreigners as their low standard of living, their greed for gain, and their superstitions. Martial and Juvenal take the place of Cato and Cicero.

These judgments of Latin writers upon the native qualities of Greeks and orientals, as well as of many western races, must not be taken too seriously. We know enough of the history of the non-roman populations that were gradually incorporated into the empire, to form an equitable judgment of their qualities and achievements. As T. Frank remarks, "it would be unfair to accept the self-complacent slurs of the Romans, who, ignoring certain imaginative and artistic qualities, chose only to see in them unprincipled and servile egoists."¹⁸

On the other hand it is also fair to reflect that the representatives of such races in Rome, coming as they did from classes depressed and worn out by several generations of slavery and restriction, could hardly possess the native quality of their race at its best. The specimens of foreigners to be observed in the Roman foreign rabble were not of a kind to counteract the prejudices bred by historical and social traditions which assigned to the Romans the imperium mundi as a birth-right. These foreigners and the racial mixture which had taken the place of the old Roman stock did indeed lack the political and moral qualities by which the empire had been built and which were necessary if it was to be held together.¹⁹

But whatever theory historians may hold on this point, what is important for us is the fact that common current opinion in Rome on the character and moral qualifications of the foreign-

¹⁸ Race Mixture, p. 705.

¹⁹ "The trimachios of the empire were often shrewd and daring business men, but their first and obvious task apparently was to climb by the ladder of quick profits to a social position in which their children with Romanized names could comfortably proceed to forget their forebears. The possession of wealth did not, as in the republic, suggest certain duties toward the commonwealth. Narcissus and Pallas might be sagacious politicians, but they were not expected to be statesmen concerned with the continuity of the 'mos majorum'" (ibid., p. 706).

ers of the city was far from flattering, and necessarily affected the life of the foreign groups themselves.

During the republican period expulsions of whole bodies of foreigners from Rome were not infrequent, especially in periods of famine or epidemics. Political motives also led to the expulsion of non-citizen dwellers in Rome, as in the case of the Latins and Italians, who were often expelled before the Social War gained for them Roman citizenship. The expulsion of special groups or of men following certain professions, usually Greeks or orientals, is mentioned in various periods, and in 65 B.C. the Lex Papia called for a general expulsion from Rome of all foreigners who were not citizens, "because they were too numerous and were unworthy to live with the Romans."²⁰ These expulsions, however, even when actually and severely enforced, did not eliminate the foreign element from Rome, for that consisted mainly of slaves whose work was indispensable and of freedmen possessing Roman citizenship. They had become an integral part of the plebs urbana and could not be expelled. Directed in part against them were the agrarian laws of 63 B.C., which proposed a plan of extensive colonization from the urban population. Rullus, the tribune of the plebs, in defending this measure before the Senate did not hesitate to say: "Urbanam plebem nimium in re publica posse: exhauriendam esse"; to which Cicero, who vigorously opposed the law because it would have granted absolute dictatorial powers to the ambitious tribune and his associates, and who wished to please the people, remarked: "Hoc verbo [exhauriendum, 'clean up'] usus est, quasi de aliqua sentina ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur."²¹ The law was killed, but three years later a new agrarian law less radical than the former was proposed by the tribune Flavius with the support of Pompey; and this time Cicero, eager to satisfy Pompey, approved, suggesting only a few amendments and writing to Atticus in the very same lan-

²⁰ L. Homo, *Problèmes Sociaux*, pp. 77 ff. Cicero, philosophizing on duty, condemned such expulsions: "Male, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque exterminant, ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papius nuper. Nam esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere: usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est," *De officiis*, iii. 11.

²¹ *De lege agr.* ii. 26, 70.

guage which he had denounced when used by Rullus: "I think," he said, "that by this law, if it were carried out, the city might be emptied of the dregs of the populace (*sentinam urbis exhauriri arbitrabar*)".²² This law also failed, but the cleaning up of the city, as already mentioned, was actually attempted by Caesar by the withdrawal to colonies beyond the sea of large masses of the urban population and especially of freedmen.

The reaction to the disdain or the coldness of the Romans was undoubtedly one of the reasons which led the immigrants, especially of the lower classes, to seek elsewhere that friendship and warmth of heart denied them by the citizens, and to feel the need of leaning on one another and satisfying through associations of their own their craving for social intercourse and common religious life. All foreigners in Rome were allowed to practise their national cults in private and "extra pomerium," and therefore to form religious associations of their own in connection with such cults. But since the foreign population of Rome was mostly composed not so much of peregrini as of slaves and freedmen and their offspring, the membership of their associations in time came to include not only foreigners in the legal sense of the term (peregrini), but also slaves, who formed the *familia urbana* of their owners, and former slaves, or descendants of slaves, who now made part of the citizen body.

This element, moreover, could not be prevented either from acquiring membership in professional and trade associations already in existence among the natives, or from forming associations of the same kind among themselves. The same reason which often assembled in certain Roman *vici* groups of foreigners following the same trade, namely the fact that a certain trade or craft was a specialty of the province or town whence they had come, led also to the formation of trade or professional associations whose members were all foreigners, either free born or from the servile classes. Obviously associations of this kind were not different in organization and external form from other trade and professional associations, and were regulated by the same laws and the same public requirements of Roman

²² Ad Atticum, 1, 19. L. Homo, *ibid.*

life. Their history is merged in the general history of the Roman *collegia*.

In the history of the Roman private associations we may conveniently distinguish three successive periods of development. In the first, which comes down to almost the middle of the last century of the republic, the right to form private associations of all kinds was not limited by any special law, but only by social restrictions or economic expediency. In the second period, ending at about the end of the third century after Christ, the right of association was regulated by strict laws, and the trade and professional *collegia* gradually assumed a certain official character and came more and more under the control of the government. In the third period, under the despotism inaugurated by Diocletian, the associations became public institutions with enforced membership, while all the other associations which had primarily a religious character connected with heathen cults gradually disappeared. We are concerned here mostly with the second period. From very ancient times there had been in the city, side by side with the public sacerdotal colleges, trade-associations of a private character. Tradition assigned them an official origin and attributed their organization to Numa, but in reality they were private institutions and were organized one by one under varying circumstances, whenever the artisans of each trade were numerous enough to feel the need of an association of their own.²³ Among

²³ De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, I, 1896, pp. 77 ff. The origin and history of the Roman *collegia* has been the subject of much controversy since the second half of the nineteenth century when the revival of interest in Roman law and institutions called the attention of scholars to this important feature of Roman life. Since the works of Mommsen and Marquardt, the monographs of Schiess and Liebenam, and the various contributions of G. B. De Rossi and the archaeologists of the Roman school, and especially since the thorough researches of Waltzing (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, 4 vols., 1895-1900), very little has been added to our knowledge of the history of the Roman *collegia*. A good abridgment of his large work was made by Waltzing in the article 'Collegium' in De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane*, II, 1, pp. 340-406, to which must be added also E. Breccia's article 'Cultores' in the same volume. A thorough presentation of the topic is found also in Kornemann's article 'Collegium' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. From the point of view of the economic history of the empire, the function and the successive changes in organization of professional associations has been recently studied by T. Frank, *EHR*, 2nd ed. (es-

the patricians the 'gens' was the bond that held together persons related by blood and family tradition and therefore possessing social and political interests in common; to the plebeians the collegium supplied something of similar value. Excluded from the official priesthood and the high offices of the army, the artisans of Rome, in a period in which the religious spirit permeated all social activities, found a certain compensation in forming societies of their own, with their own cults and festivals. In his collegium, the Roman of the lower classes was on an equal footing with all the other members and could become an officer or president of the association and as such be *ex officio* the priest of its official cult.²⁴ The government did not interfere with their organization; the associations of artisans were established freely and were not molested until toward the middle of the first century B.C. Only after the serious tumults provoked and fostered by Catiline and Clodius did the Senate, in the year 64 B.C., abolish the collegia with a few exceptions.²⁵ They were, however, soon reëstablished by virtue of the *lex Clodia de collegiis* (58 B.C.), and many new ones sprang up, in which the worst elements of the slums were gathered by Clodius and successfully used in his struggle against Cicero, Cato, and Pompey. Three years later they again sustained a severe blow through the *lex Licinia*

pecially pp. 328 ff. and 495 ff.). Rostovtzeff, SEHRE (passim, see Index under 'Associations' and 'Professional Corporations'), Paul-Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work*, 1927 (pp. 47 ff., 147 ff., 258 ff.). On the Greek corporations the most satisfactory work is F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 1909, which has superseded the older works of Schell and Caspari.

²⁴ The eight guilds the foundation of which was attributed to Numa were those of the flute-players, gold-smelters, smiths, dyers, cordwainers, curriers, brass-workers, and potters. These collegia were originally composed of free artisans, but gradually freedmen also were admitted. "Constituted above all to ensure the celebration of religious rites, the guilds offered a framework for the defence of vocational interests and a weapon to the plebeians in their struggle for the levelling up of the political order," Paul-Louis, p. 49.

²⁵ On the content of the *senatus consultum* of the year 64, see the long discussion of Waltzing (I, pp. 90-113). In opposition to Mommsen, who interpreted the law as directed against the collegia compitalicia, Waltzing denies the existence of such collegia in the republican period. His thesis, however, has not found general acceptance, and Mommsen's opinion is still followed by some scholars, as for instance G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 171.

de sodaliciis, which was directed against all political clubs and the corruption of the electoral vote. Still more drastic laws were enacted by Julius Caesar, who after the defeat of all his competitors, being the real master of Rome, abolished all but a few of the oldest of the *collegia*.²⁶

It seems, however, that these organizations were quickly reconstituted during the period of anarchy which followed Caesar's assassination, for one of the first acts of Augustus aiming at the reestablishment of public security was to promulgate a new or revived *lex Julia de collegiis*, ordering the dissolution of all associations of every description and strictly regulating the right of association for the future.²⁷ According to this law, no *collegium* could be organized without the previous authorization of the Senate, and this was to be granted only to those which were not likely to disturb the peace of the state but would definitely serve the public interest.²⁸

The organization of the Roman *collegia* has been the subject of much controversy among modern historians as to their juridical status as well as their social value and economic function in the life of the city and the empire. During the imperial period we find colleges which had the character of professional and trade guilds, others that were merely religious associations to carry on a special cult, and many small colleges of poor people having a funerary purpose. The performance of religious duties was, however, one of the activities of almost all

²⁶ "Cuncta collegia, praeter antiquitus constituta, distraxit," Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 42. It is generally granted that Caesar enacted a law on this point (*Lex Julia*). The *collegia* which were excepted were those which did not come under the head of "coetus factiosorum hominum." According to Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, xiv. 18, 8) the Jewish associations were left undisturbed. Waltzing, I, pp. 112-113.

²⁷ "Plurimae factiones titulo collegii novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant, igitur collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit," Suetonius, *Augustus*, 32. On the scope of the application of this law there is also disagreement among scholars. It seems that it abolished all *collegia* without discrimination, but at the same time authorized the reorganization of the old associations already excepted by Caesar, provided they received the necessary permit from the Senate. Waltzing, I, pp. 115-117.

²⁸ The law of Augustus fixed the Roman custom on the right of association. As a matter of fact, the jurists of the second and third centuries, although they do not explicitly quote the law, adhere closely to its principles. The texts are assembled by Waltzing, I, Appendix, and pp. 155-156.

colleges — of the professional guilds as well as the *collegia tenuiorum*.²⁹

It is generally admitted that the professional colleges of Rome and of the empire, at least during the first century and part of the second, did not have the coöperative professional character of the trade-corporations and guilds of the Middle Ages. There is no evidence of the existence of professional regulations and periods of training; nor do we find that the colleges were in that period granted a monopoly in special trades or industries, or that they ever attempted to unite their resources for the collective exercise of any trade or craft.³⁰

Since they were debarred from political activities, which would have made them 'factiones,' and therefore prohibited by law, the common worship remained the chief manifestation of their collective existence apart from such coöperation and mutual help in their work as would naturally arise among members of the same trade or profession. Against this opinion Rostovtzeff has formulated some objection, being convinced that at least certain corporations, and especially those of merchants and shipowners, who dealt in necessities of life, were from the very beginning recognized by the state, "because they were agents of the state, and more or less concessionaries of the Roman government."³¹ In other words, these corporations, though they did not enjoy a monopoly, assumed collective duties toward the state and had therefore the character of commercial coöperatives and of official or semi-official institutions.

²⁹ "Sans doute, à l'origine comme plus tard, le gouvernement, redoutait les groupes qui se formaient en dehors de la religion, et le culte des collèges paraissait une garantie sérieuse. Il est certain aussi que la religion fut souvent un prétexte mis en avant par des collèges pour cacher un autre dessein; cela prouve seulement, que la religion suffisait pour donner des apparences inoffensives, pourvu qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un culte interdit. Mais rien n'autorise à croire que le culte fut une condition de l'autorisation, ou seulement de la tolérance accordée par le gouvernement" (Waltzing, I, p. 255).

³⁰ Such is the theory of Waltzing followed by Kornemann, Parvan, and others. Liebenam (p. 82) had already proposed some exceptions to the general rule, for example that of the boatmen of the Rhone, who seem to have had the exclusive right of transportation on that river.

³¹ SEHRE, p. 532. Rostovtzeff's assumption seems to me well taken, even if the historical and archaeological evidence is not fully convincing. On this point see the following chapter on the 'stationes.'

This would imply that we must distinguish two different classes of professional associations, for, as Rostovtzeff remarks, along with these corporations recognized by the state there were others which had a private character and with which the state interfered only as a matter of police.³²

Under the Augustan law concerning the right of association, the *collegia* were kept under strict surveillance to prevent their degenerating into political bodies; but gradually through the decline of servile labor and the consequent changes in the general economic situation of the empire,³³ the guilds began to be used by the state to secure transportation services and industrial and commercial production. They were given privileges, but at the same time they assumed definite duties toward the government and the people.³⁴ This development was rapid after the time of Septimius Severus,³⁵ and by the end of the third century the guilds were already official institutions. "The artisan became a mere functionary, linked up with other functionaries of the same kind and bound to devote his energies continually to the same form of production. The system of forced labor was set by the side of that of servile labor."³⁶

During all this period of gradual transformation these colleges fulfilled also their religious function. Their meetings were

³² A distinction between these two classes of associations remained even after the guilds became official institutions in the fourth century, when such guilds as those of the shipbuilders, bakers, and butchers were subjected to more strict regulation and enjoyed more privileges than others like the guilds of *tignarii*, *lapidarii*, *centonarii*, and many others whose services did not have a public character or an essential importance. Paul-Louis, p. 263.

³³ Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, pp. 297 ff., and the chapter on the economic and social policy of the Flavians and Antonines, pp. 306 ff.

³⁴ "The fact that the emperors from the time of Hadrian repeatedly granted important privileges to some associations shows that such privileges were intended as a compensation for the compulsory work which they were forced to perform for the state," Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, p. 337.

³⁵ In the first century of the empire the right to form a professional organization was a privilege obtained with some difficulty; now it has become a duty. Septimius Severus had colleges organized for all professions, even the humblest, and thus a great step was taken toward their transformation into public institutions. Waltzing, I, p. 154; Rostovtzeff, p. 361.

³⁶ Paul-Louis, p. 260. The whole second volume of Waltzing deals with this topic in a detailed study of the associations as official institutions.

held at the shrine of their protector deity or in their schola,³⁷ which appears often to have served for religious purposes if their deity had no shrine of his own. Besides the festival of their special cults, the colleges celebrated those of the emperors, either living or dead, with sacrifices, games, banquets, and distribution of 'sportulae' according to the various prescriptions. It seems also that they arranged suitable funeral honors to the deceased members, and this eventually became one of the most important purposes of the associations. They recruited their members from all groups of skilled and unskilled workers, merchants and shopkeepers and artisans of various kinds, according to the special nature of the statute of each association. Freedmen appear in large numbers in these colleges.

Side by side with the professional colleges in Rome we find others of a more strictly religious character, those of the 'cultores' of a special deity. These have a great importance in relation to the foreign groups in Rome because, as we shall see later, they probably originated among these foreigners for the celebration of their native cults, so that it was only at a later date and on their model that associations of 'cultores' of Roman deities were formed. They were religious confraternities usually attached to a temple or shrine; but in many cases the members of such associations appear to have belonged to the same trade or profession, and the associations thus assumed the character of professional colleges, although associations of 'cultores' with no professional character are well known to have been in existence. These colleges also came to accept the

³⁷ On the origin of the scholae, especially those of the collegia funeraticia see G. B. De Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, 1864, pp. 26-69. They often stood on the burial-ground owned by the college. The scholae of the professional collegia were generally near one of the fora. In Rome the coriarii had their schola in the Trastevere between the temple of Fors Fortuna and the Porta Septimia, not far from the tanneries (De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1871, p. 163); the citrarii et eborarii had theirs near the same temple, while the tabernarii possessed one in the centre of the city near the Pantheon and the scribae librarii et praecones aedilium curulium had each their headquarters on the Via Sacra (CIL. VI, 103). 'Schola' and 'templum' sometimes appear in the inscriptions as synonymous (CIL. X, 1578). Other names for the headquarters of a collegium were domus (CIL. XI, 5749), or in Greek οἶκος (Liebenam, p. 275), and statio (CIL. VI, 7458, 8750). Waltzing I, p. 223 and III, p. 924.

care of the funeral and burial of their deceased members as an important function of the association.³⁸

The paramount importance of the funeral rites in the religious beliefs of the Romans, as among all peoples of Aryan race, is well known. The great Roman families possessed burial grounds of their own (*sepulturae gentiliciae*) with vaults which were used through many generations, and often the ashes of their clients and freedmen also were deposited there to rest under the protection of their patrons. But the poor people, as well as slaves and freedmen who did not have patrons sufficiently rich or generous, were thrown promiscuously after death into large common pits, the so-called *puticuli*.

Under the first emperors the earliest funerary associations were formed. They were not collegia, but rather coöperative societies, which bought a burial-ground at common expense and had a columbarium built in it for the ashes of the members (*socii columbarii*). The members were of various social conditions, slaves as well as freedmen being admitted provided they could pay their share of the expense.³⁹ In the period of

³⁸ See the article 'Cultores' by Breccia in De Ruggero, *Dizionario epigr.*

³⁹ More than four thousand inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions from Roman columbaria have been collected (CIL. VI, 3926-8397). Most of them belong to collegia domestica of aristocratic families. Several columbaria of the first and second centuries after Christ are still in existence in Rome. Some of them, as it seems, were not built on the coöperative plan, but were the private property of a contractor who sold the burial urns (ollae) to individuals or families. Such appears to have been the columbarium of Pomponius Hylas near the hypogeum of the Scipios. The inscriptions of this columbarium mention the names of freedmen and slaves of the households of Tiberius and Nero (CIL. VI, 5540, 5539) and also a freedman of Antoninus Pius (5554; for the remarkable decorations of this columbarium see Ashby-Newton, *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome*, 1910, V, pp. 468-471 and Tab. XXXVII-XLVII). The three columbaria of Vigna Codini appear to have been on the coöperative plan. Among the hundreds of inscriptions known to have come from these columbaria, several mention the fact that the ollae had been bought from former owners ("Cornelius Salvus emit ollam de Luceio Aucto," 4931). The names are chiefly those of freedmen, slaves, and servants of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. The pavement of the second columbarium is dated as of the year 10 A.D. Afterwards part of this columbarium was acquired by the Collegium Symphonicorum (4416), and another part by an association sociorum coronariorum (4414). The third columbarium, which is the largest and richest, was in use for a longer time. The names in the inscriptions are of freedmen and servants of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, and then of Trajan and Hadrian, and one also of Marcus Aurelius. Another inscription mentions the fact

the Flavian emperors these coöperatives began to disappear, and were supplanted by collegia, which put themselves under the protection of a special deity and often assumed his name, but whose real purpose was to provide funerals and a place of burial for their deceased members.⁴⁰ These associations, to which Mommsen gave the name *collegia funeraticia*, but which in Roman legal phraseology go under the name of *collegia tenuiorum* because organized among the poor classes, were not obliged to obtain a special authorization from the Senate or the emperor, as was the case with other collegia, but could be formed freely, provided they obtained a simple permit from the praefectus urbis, upon the presentation of their statute and the list of their members. This privilege was granted by a senatus consultum of the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, not later than the year 133 A.D. The members of these collegia paid a very modest monthly fee (*stips menstrua*) to the common treasury (*arca communis*), which provided the funds for the funerals.⁴¹ Often they pos-

that one Tiberius Julius Donatus, acceptor (tax-collector), bought from their owners thirty-six ollae, which became his exclusive property (*propriae juris ejus*), evidently for the purpose of selling them at a higher price. (Lugli, *Zona archeologica*, 1924, pp. 299 ff.). Another columbarium worthy of notice is that discovered in 1838 in the Villa Pamphili, which has now been removed to the National Museum and accurately reconstructed by Professor Paribeni. (Description made at the time of discovery by E. Braun, *Bullettino Istituto Archeologico*, Rome, 1838, pp. 4 ff.; Otto Jahn, *Abhandl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-philol. Klasse*, VIII, pp. 231 ff., Tab. I-VII). The decorations of these columbaria belong to various periods; some of them, especially those of the columbarium of Pomponius Hylas, represent religious myths, or scenes connected with funeral beliefs and rites; others may refer to the occupations of the deceased or have a symbolic or apotropaic character, but the greater part are merely decorative motives such as genii, satyrs, rustic scenes and landscapes, trees and flowers, birds and animals, and even grotesque and humorous episodes to which it seems difficult to assign any symbolic meaning.

⁴⁰ The word *salutaris*, 'saving,' added to the name of a collegium (*collegium salutare Silvani*) or to the name of the patron god of the collegium (*collegium Silvani salutaris*), is always a sign of a funerary collegium (De Rossi, *Bull. Com.*, 1882, pp. 141-148). This epithet was adopted '*boni ominis causa*.' A collection of the inscriptions mentioning funerary collegia is to be found in T. Schiess, *Die römischen collegia funeraticia*, Munich, 1888, pp. 111-140, and a complete list of these collegia in Waltzing, IV, pp. 202-208.

⁴¹ In the inscriptions it is called also *arca collegii* and *arca reipublicae collegii*, or *arca publica*. In the Digest the term used is *ratio communis* or *pecunia communis* (Liebenam, p. 244, n. 1). Only the collegia which were in charge of a public and official

essed a common burial-ground, sometimes furnished with a triclia, or hall for their funeral banquets.⁴² The official meetings of the *collegia tenuiorum* were limited by law to one a month, but it seems that they could assemble oftener for strictly religious purposes.⁴³

During the first two centuries of the empire all *collegia* and associations gradually came to fulfill these same duties towards members. Some of the old professional *collegia* had provided funerals and decent burial for their members since the days of the republic;⁴⁴ but the great majority of those which were organized after the new legislation was enacted by Augustus, even if they took their name from a profession or trade because their members were recruited among a special class, and even if they put themselves under the protection of a special deity of whom they became the *cultores*, were essentially funerary associations, and many belonged to the class of the *collegia tenuiorum*.

cult received an appropriation from the state for their expenses; the private *collegia*, even those which worshipped national deities, had to meet all their expenses by the contributions of their members, as did the *cultores* of foreign gods. In the funerary *collegia*, the *stips menstrua* was reserved exclusively for funerals. In the *collegium cultorum Dianae et Antinoi* of Lanuvium, of which we possess a good part of the statute, the monthly fee of the members was five asses, about thirty cents (Liebenam, p. 81).

⁴² It was not an absolute necessity for a funerary *collegium* to possess a burial or incineration ground in common. Many *collegia* of poor people did not have one unless some rich benefactor made them the gift of a piece of land or of the money to buy it. When the *collegium* did not possess a ground of its own, it paid the *funeraticium*, the allowance for the funeral of a deceased member, to those who had taken care of him and provided for his funeral and burial. The *loca sepulturae* of the *collegia* were in general small areas surrounded by walls or delimited by cippi (Schiess, pp. 87 ff., 'Collegien mit gemeinsamem Begräbnisplatze'). The *columbaria* were common in Rome, but elsewhere they are more rarely found. Even in Rome the system of inhumation was practised in the *collegia* as well as incineration (Breccia, in De Ruggero, *Diz. Epigr.*, II, 2, p. 1305). The opinion of Schiess that all the Roman *collegia* which possessed *loca sepulturae* used to bury their dead and did not incinerate them, has no foundation, since in the *areae* side by side with the *loculi* of those who were inhumated, the *ollae* or *urnae* with the ashes of those who were incinerated have again and again been found. Some associations bought part of a *columbarium* belonging either to a contractor or to a coöperative. See above, note 39.

⁴³ " . . . dum tamen semel in mense coeant. . . . Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita *collegia* accentur," Marcian, lib. III *Institutionum*, in *Digest* 47, 22. On the meaning of this passage see Waltzing, I, pp. 149 ff.

⁴⁴ See the list of these *collegia* in Waltzing, IV, pp. 485-488.

This overlapping of characteristics and purposes in the various classes of associations makes it very difficult for the modern historian to attempt a classification of the *collegia* which are mentioned in the Roman documents and especially in the inscriptions of the first three centuries of the empire. In most cases it is almost impossible to distinguish the *collegia* which were originally organized as funerary associations from the others which were not. For the purpose of our inquiry, we must keep in mind the fundamental distinction between the *collegia* which needed the authorization of the Senate or the emperor, and the 'poor men's colleges' which could be organized by a simple permit of the police. To the former class belong all those which were originally or primarily professional or trade associations or associations of *cultores* and for whom funerary duties were an addition; the second class included all those associations of poor people and slaves whose primary purpose was the care of funerals, even when their membership consisted of persons who carried on the same humble occupation or put themselves under the patronage of a special divinity. Thus, in spite of the overlapping, the fundamental distinction between professional *collegia*, religious societies of *cultores*, and *collegia tenuiorum* remains, and is of great importance in determining the status before the law of each one.

All those associations which had been formed with the authorization of the Senate or of an emperor, or with the permit of the police, were allowed, according to the class to which they belonged, to have a patrimony, which in the case of the *collegia tenuiorum* was usually limited to their common fund and to the burial-ground of the association. This concession, however, did not mean, as long as the *collegia* remained private institutions, that the state recognized them as a 'corpus' invested with juridical and contractual rights; but only that the members of each association collectively could own a property which was thus only the undivided possession of the individual members (*singulorum hominum*).⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, in case the college was dissolved, its common funds, unless confiscated by the government as a penalty, were divided among the mem-

⁴⁵ Waltzing, II, pp. 439-441.

bers.⁴⁶ Marcus Aurelius granted to the colleges lawfully organized the right to accept inheritances, which accrued to the common patrimony of the association. This was a further step towards their acquisition of civil personality.⁴⁷

But though the laws about the organization of colleges were very definite, and severe penalties threatened upon transgressors,⁴⁸ there is no doubt that even during the first century of the empire colleges and associations were in existence in Rome and elsewhere which had been formed without authorization and maintained a clandestine life. At times the government ignored their existence, and no measures were taken to dissolve them, but if at any time they appeared involved in disorders and public riots, or created difficulties to the maintenance of order, they were immediately suppressed. It seems that their number was so large, and that in general the Roman police was so tolerant toward these secret societies, that often they did not even take the trouble to disguise themselves or to conceal their existence.⁴⁹

From what has been said above about the foreign groups in Rome and about the development of the *collegia* in general it is evident that the foreign population had a large share in the membership of the various associations. Foreign merchants had first of all their *stationes*, or national establishments, which enjoyed certain privileges and, which, if not in the eyes of the Roman government at least in those of their city or

⁴⁶ "Sed permittitur eis, cum dissolvuntur, pecunias communes, si quas habent, dividere, pecuniamque inter se partiri," Dig. i. XLVII, tit. XXII, leg. 3.

⁴⁷ Waltzing, II, pp. 455 ff.

⁴⁸ By the "*senatus consultum quo illicita collegia arcentur*." Tertullian alludes to this *senatus consultum*: "Nisi forte in senatus consulta et in principum mandata coitionibus apposita delinquimus," De ieiunio ad psychicos 18. In the Digest the death penalty is imposed upon members of *collegia illicita*: "Quisquis collegium illicitum usurpaverit, ea poena tenetur, qua tenentur qui hominibus armatis loca publica vel templa occupasse iudicati sunt," that is to say, death (i. XLVII, tit. XXII, leg. 2). Waltzing remarks, however, that in this case under the term of *collegia illicita* come not only members of unauthorized colleges, but also of authorized colleges which by entering into forbidden activities had become a danger for the public order and therefore acquired the character of *factiones illicitae*; I, pp. 132 ff. and art. 'Collegium' in Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie, III, p. 2111. For the various passages of Tertullian alluding to the Roman legislation on colleges see Waltzing, *Étude hist.*, I, pp. 314 ff.

⁴⁹ Evidence collected by Waltzing, I, pp. 136 ff.

province of origin, had a certain official character. Moreover, there were guilds of merchants and persons engaged in maritime transportation which, with the passage of most commercial activities from the hands of the Romans and the Italians into the hands of provincials and especially orientals, came to be formed entirely or in great majority of foreigners. Other similar associations were formed expressly by foreigners engaged in business and dealing in the peculiar agricultural or industrial products of certain provinces. The freedmen were very numerous in all these associations.

In the associations of craftsmen and professional men of all kinds we find also the same process of development: foreigners invaded the old Roman guilds and formed many new ones in the case of crafts, trades, and professions brought into Rome from outside. In these also freedmen played an important part, and in the associations of men of humble occupation slaves too had a large share. In the strictly religious associations of cultores the foreign population undoubtedly took the lead, since the associations existed for the practice of their national cults and religious traditions. No less important was their share in the *collegia tenuiorum* which, established by and for the poor, were open to slaves and to the Roman proletariat of all races. The historical sources offer very little information on these points, but putting together what can be derived from them, from various elements in the Roman legislation,⁵⁰ and above all from the epigraphic material,⁵¹ it is possible to reach some notion of the part played by the associations of foreigners in Rome during the early centuries of the empire.

The main difficulty in the imperial period — as we have

⁵⁰ Rostovtzeff has rightly observed that the Roman law, such as we possess in the great Byzantine codices, the *codex Theodosianus*, the *codex Justinianus*, and the *Digest*, "must be used with care in attempting to reconstruct the social and economic history of any period or any one portion of the Roman Empire." For in this system of laws are amalgamated various elements derived "from many local systems and especially from the Hellenistic systems which were not eliminated by the Roman civil Law or replaced by the so-called *Jus Gentium*" (pp. 173-174).

⁵¹ All the inscriptions concerning Roman associations known in 1898 were collected from the *CIL* and *CIG* and other sources by Waltzing in the third volume of his *Études* (pp. 167-350). Those which have since been found are scattered in the periodical issues of *Notizie degli Scavi* and will be mentioned in due place.

already noticed in dealing with the formation of foreign groups in ancient Rome — arises from the fact that the continual absorption of the various foreign elements makes it impossible to draw a line at any given moment between what was still a foreign element and what had ceased to be such. In the ever growing process of syncretism, ethnical, social, religious, and cultural, which was taking place in Rome, the very word 'foreigner' changed its meaning. The foreigners of a former generation were the Romans of the next, until finally the cosmopolitanism of the Roman population became the real ethnical and social characteristic of the city. Such was the result of the process, but in the process itself the distinction between foreigners and non-foreigners was always present and important, and did not cease to be so even after Caracalla granted citizenship to all free men of the empire.

The practical importance of this grant, which was exaggerated by some historians, has now been reduced to more modest proportions by a closer analysis of its implications. The *Constitutio Antoniana* undoubtedly marks the final step in the gradual transformation of the city-state constitution of ancient Rome into the imperial constitution of the military monarchy in which the city of Rome was still for another century to be only the most important city. The *Constitutio* is more than anything else the symbol of this transformation. By the time the republican régime came to an end the acquisition of Roman citizenship had ceased to mean acquisition of political power; during the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines, it remained primarily a social distinction and offered large opportunities; but with the successive grants of the emperors to entire communities and groups it gradually lost even this value, and the final general concession of Caracalla reduced Roman citizenship to a mere name.⁵² As for the foreigners who were in Rome

⁵² The discovery in recent times in Egypt of the original text of the *Constitutio* has given rise to many doubts as to its intended application. It excludes the *dediticii*, and it is known that many *peregrini* at that time were also styled *dediticii*. It is not clear whether it included the rural population of the city territories, and whether in the cities themselves it included only the *honestiores* or the *humiliores* as well. Furthermore, it did not affect the legal standing of the cities as such, so that a 'peregrine' city re-

and who continued to come thither, the Constitution made no difference, for to be a Roman citizen meant now only to be a citizen of the empire, and did not carry with it any special distinction in the city.

A detailed study of the various types of association among foreigners in Rome and of their successive transformation is out of the question by reason of the lack of documents. But the few traces left of their existence, if brought together, may throw some light on certain characteristics of the life of foreign groups in Rome and be of some service in the later study of the primitive Christian community there.

mained what it had been, although its citizens were now *cives Romani*, Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 369-370.

III

THE STATIONES IN ROME; PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
OF FOREIGNERS; FUNERARY ASSOCIATIONS

NEITHER under the republic nor under the empire did the city of Rome develop industries on a large scale so as to become an exporting centre. With the progressive increase of its population and the great wealth amassed in the wars of conquest there was built up a large commerce in foodstuffs and luxuries imported from the various provinces. At the same time new trades and crafts were introduced into the city from outside and carried on in local shops for local needs. A large commercial class was thus formed, of importers, transportation contractors, shopkeepers, and tradesmen and craftsmen of all kinds. As we have noticed already, these were mostly foreigners, either *ingenui* or *liberti* or even slaves. The old Roman aristocracy shunned commerce; the laws of the republic even forbade senators and men high in politics to engage in any form of trade. Their wealth was in land, and in Rome at all times down to the end of the empire land was considered the best, the safest, and the most dignified investment of one's wealth.¹

¹ On the restrictions imposed on the senatorial class before the Punic War and the similar laws enacted by Julius Caesar, see T. Frank, *EHR*, pp. 114 ff. But it was this class that profited most by the wars and the government of the conquered provinces. "The lion's share fell to the leaders of the Roman army, members of the senatorial class. They returned to Italy with large amounts of money and large numbers of slaves; and herds of cattle fell also into their hands. The government of the provinces became a new source of wealth for the senatorial class." Besides this class large numbers of Romans and Italian citizens shared in the profits of the conquest. "Its members started their economic career by helping the state to exploit lands, mines, forests, fisheries, houses, and ships which had become property of the state. They supplied the armies with food, clothing, and arms: they bought up war-booty from the state and from the generals, the officers, and the common soldiers: they sold various goods to the soldiers during campaigns, and so forth. When the wars were over, they used the money to lend to the allies and vassals of Rome, whether kings or cities: they farmed the collecting of taxes and other revenues in the provinces, and took an active part in the business life as money-lenders, merchants, owners of land and herds, and proprietors of houses and shops. The richest members of this new body of capitalists, the equestrian class, lived mostly in Rome and aspired to the honor of admission into the senatorial order by being elected to one of the magistracies" (*ib.* p. 17). The results

From the second century B.C., however, Roman capital in large amounts was gradually invested in trade and commerce by rich men who had reaped large profits from the wars, by publicani and tax farmers, and by government contractors in transportation for armies and supplies. Since the upper classes in ancient Rome were constantly recruited from the lower as members of the latter reached a certain fixed census, or amount of wealth, the class which invested in commercial enterprises most heavily was that of the knights, which came second after the senatorial class.² Undoubtedly from the last centuries of the republic Roman capital stood back of many commercial and industrial undertakings in the various provinces; but we seldom find genuine Romans actually superintending them. Freedmen and foreign merchants formed by far the majority of the commercial class of Rome.

Beginning with the period named, the second century B.C., and especially after the end of the last Punic war, a stream of Italians emigrated to the provinces successively annexed to the empire, where a good field for exploitation presented itself. Large groups of Italian 'mercatores' and 'negotiatores' were formed in the various sea-ports and commercial centres of the eastern Mediterranean, in Africa, and gradually in Spain, Gaul, and the Germanic and Danubian lands. The history of some of these groups is relatively well known³; we possess for instance a remarkable amount of information on the Italian

of this development were great concentration of lands in large estates, the formation of the city bourgeoisie, and a great commercial expansion of Rome and Italy.

² But the senatorial class also "by force of circumstances, by the fact of their growing wealth, was led to take part both in the credit operations which were the natural consequence of the eastern conquests and, despite the strict prohibition, in the commercial activities which followed the concentration of capital in the hands of Roman and Italian citizens" (Rostovtzeff, p. 18). Such operations, however, were made through intermediaries and seldom directly. In spite of this the Roman government never did anything to secure special privileges for Roman merchants and for Italian industries. See on this point the interesting considerations and reasons assigned by T. Frank in his valuable chapter on 'Industry and Commerce,' pp. 108-126. On Roman capitalism the book of G. Salvioi, *Il Capitalismo nel mondo antico*, is still the best general treatment of the subject.

³ J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, Paris, 1919, a thorough study of these groups which utilizes all previous researches and all the historical and archaeological material.

colony of merchants in the great commercial emporium of Delos, and what can be learned of their history and system of organization throws much light on the less well known history and organization of the oriental and other foreign merchants who settled in the West and especially in Italy and Rome.⁴

During the last centuries of the republic and the early imperial period Italy, though not Rome, was an exporting country, especially for such agricultural products as wine and oil and for certain industrial products which had reached a good degree of excellence from Etruscan times.⁵ These Italian *mercatores*, who exported from Italy oil and wine and such manufactured products as red-glazed pottery and metal articles, imported, even from remotest lands, wheat, agricultural and industrial products, and luxuries. In the eastern emporia these Italian *mercatores* were called *Ῥωμαῖοι*, 'Romans'; but their names and the frequent express mention in the lists of their city of origin, as in the case of *mercatores* of Delos, show that they were Greeks from Southern Italy and Sicily, or natives of Campania and Apulia and other Italian regions. Most of them were freedmen or descendants of freedmen. Genuine Roman names appear only in the influential class of the bankers, who held a prominent position in the emporia.

The *Ῥωμαῖοι* in Delos formed a considerable community: they had their own business place, the 'agora of the Italians,' adorned with statues and monuments, their temples and their associations.⁶ The three most important *collegia* of Roman citizens in Delos had a religious title, the *Hermaists*, the *Apollo-niasts*, and the *Poseidoniasts* (*Ἑρμαῖοι*, *Ἀπολλωνιασταί*, *Ποσειδωνιασταί*), or in the Latin form, for the inscriptions are often bi-

⁴ On the foreign groups in Delos there is a considerable bibliography. The most recent complete work is P. Roussel, *Delos Colonie Athénienne*, Paris, 1916. Some of its conclusions are revised by Hatzfeld.

⁵ Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, chapter I and pp. 65 ff.; Frank, *EHR*, pp. 90 ff., 309 ff. The so-called Arretine pottery and the metal ware of Capua were the main industrial products exported from Italy to the Mediterranean countries.

⁶ The agora was built about the end of the second century B.C. It was the centre of the community life of the Italians in Delos. The arcades adorned with statues of Roman magistrates, the baths, the games and celebrations, made of the agora an Italian enclave on Greek soil; Roussel, p. 80.

lingual, the devotees 'Mercuri,' 'Apollinis,' and 'Neptuni.'⁷ The *magistri* of the three often appear united in the dedication of a monument or shrine, or for the celebration of a festival. There is mention also of other less important *collegia*, as for instance an association of oil-merchants (*olearii*, *ἐλαιοπῶλαι*), and probably of an association of bankers (*τραπεζίται*).⁸ There was, moreover, an association of *Competalia*sts (*Κομπεταλιασταί*), or devotees of the 'lares compitales' ('lares of the cross-roads'), whose *magistri* appear to have been slaves. The slaves of the merchants, not being admitted to the associations of Roman citizens, formed their own *collegium* to carry on the ceremonies of the cult, reserved exclusively to the servile class. Though mostly of Greek and oriental origin these slaves organized a Roman college. Servile associations were not common in the hellenized lands, but were very numerous in Italy, and slaves belonging to Italian masters, who in many cases had lived for some time in Italy and Rome, borrowed from the Romans the model of their association and the cult of the *lares compitales*.⁹

It has been a moot-question among historians whether the community of the *Ῥωμαῖοι* in Delos formed from the beginning a *conventus*, that is to say, a single organization ruled by the 'magistri' of the *collegia* collectively, or whether the members of the community grouped themselves freely, according to their social condition, religious preferences, and region or city of origin, and thus formed independent associations which only incidentally united for some special common purpose.¹⁰ It is

⁷ The *Hermaistae* were the oldest group. Probably it was a *collegium Mercurialium*, like the one established by merchants in ancient Rome on the Palatine. The *Poseidoniasts* were probably ship-owners and persons engaged in maritime transportation. The cult of Apollo was very popular among the Italian immigrants in the East.

⁸ Roussel, p. 319, n. 2: pp. 12, 82.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 82.

¹⁰ The theory of Kornemann (*De civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, Berlin, 1891; art. 'Conventus' in Pauly-Wissowa) and of Schulten (*De conventibus civium Romanorum*, Göttingen, 1892), according to which all the *negotiatores Italici* in foreign countries were from the beginning organized in the form of *conventus*, first under *magistri* elected by the community and later under a *curator supremus*, does not appear well founded when judged by the evidence of the inscriptions, for instance in the case of the *negotiatores* in Delos. The excellent analysis of W. S. Ferguson (*Hellenistic Athens*, 1911) indicated the weak points of the theory but admitted that the whole colony of Delos formed a sort of "loose group" (p. 355), and that their associa-

impossible in the lack of definite evidence to say whether the Italian community of Delos developed before the imperial period a system of community organization juridically fixed; but such a system was introduced in the first century after Christ, when all the groups of Roman citizens in the emporia were obliged to form 'conventus' under the guidance of a supreme head, the 'curator civium Romanorum,' and thus assumed a semi-official character.¹¹ But from the last part of the first century after Christ the 'conventus civium Romanorum' in the eastern provinces began to decline. Immigration from Italy entirely ceased, and the competition of the provinces in the agricultural and industrial products formerly exported from Italy killed the main business of the negotiatores.¹² At the same time the great importations of eastern products into Italy and Rome had fallen into the hands of enterprising Greek and Syrian merchants, who established their emporia in the Italian sea-ports and in the city itself. The conventus disappeared one after another during the second century.¹³ When they assumed a semi-official character and became primarily representative bodies of Roman citizens, they were open not only to the Italians but also to the natives and foreigners of various nationalities settled in the same place and on whom Roman citizenship was bestowed. The increasing numbers of new citizens of non-italian origin and the diminution of newcomers

tions had a "semi-political character" (p. 401). Hatzfeld denies altogether that the conventus existed from the beginning (pp. 257 ff.). Roussel agrees mainly with Ferguson.

¹¹ The imperial policy was greatly in favor of such arrangement, since the general tendency of the Roman government was not only to extend its control over all associations but to transform into agencies of the state all these private groups (Hatzfeld, p. 285). It is significant that in many places the establishment and maintenance of the cult of Rome and the emperors was in the hands of the conventus of Ῥωμαῖοι. For instance Augustus entrusted it to the conventus of Ephesus (29 B.C.; Dio Cassius li. 20).

¹² The community of Italian mercatores of Delos was one of the first to disappear. It lost all importance about the middle of the last century B.C. and rapidly declined. The slave-trade, of which it had been the greatest emporium, moved westward, especially to the Italian ports like Puteoli and later Ostia, that is, to Rome itself.

¹³ Of the four conventus known to have existed in the first century after Christ only one was still alive about the end of the second century, and that one disappeared at the beginning of the third.

from Italy deprived the *conventus* of their character of institutions of immigrant groups and therefore of the reason for their existence. Furthermore, the Italian *negotiatores* in the East, who lived in countries entirely pacified and possessing traditions of high culture, did not remain aloof from the local population; they mixed with Greeks and orientals, contracted marriages and family alliances, took part in local politics, obtained local magistracies, and were completely absorbed and hellenized. When the *conventus* disappeared, they had already lost all their original characteristics and purpose.¹⁴ The *conventus* lasted longer in the West, where the *negotiatores* were surrounded by populations of barbaric origin often hostile and resentful toward Roman rule. In western commercial centres the *conventus* were strongly organized in special districts of the cities, with 'vici' and 'rugae' of their own and a distinct community life.¹⁵ But they too gradually disappeared with the general grant of citizenship to all free men of the empire and with the growth of municipal life and the romanization of the urban populations of the western provinces.

The associations of foreign merchants in Rome have not left many traces in history, but some of their characteristics can be described. First of all, it seems that a large majority of the merchants were from the eastern provinces. Greeks from Southern Italy undoubtedly played a considerable part in Roman commerce in republican times, but, as we have noticed, with the successive annexation of new provinces and the opening of new fields of exploitation and the increase in the amount and variety of the products imported into Rome, the South Italian Greeks were superseded by Greeks of the hellenistic countries, Syrians, and other orientals. Even the commercial activities in such western provinces as Gaul fell mainly into

¹⁴ As a consequence, the process of latinization of various eastern centres, due to the presence of large groups of Italian *negotiatores*, came to an end with the transformation and disappearance of the *conventus*. From that moment, the slight progress made in the use of the Latin language was due mainly to the conservative traditions of the imperial chancery, but it must not deceive us, the more so that the *Ῥωμαῖοι* who for many generations lived in the Orient were thoroughly hellenized. Hatzfeld, pp. 380 ff.

¹⁵ Hatzfeld, p. 368.

the hands of these orientals, and they established emporia in all important ports and trading-centres of the Roman world.¹⁶ No wonder therefore that the few associations of foreign merchants in Rome mentioned in inscriptions are with rare exceptions those of merchants from eastern provinces. Another fact made clear by the inscriptions is that these associations in Rome were usually organized among merchants coming from the same city, municipium, or colony, for the political and social unit in the hellenistic world was the polis rather than the whole province or region inhabited by a single race.

The establishments of foreign merchants in the Italian commercial centres present some analogies to the conventus of the western merchants in the East. They were called 'stationes' and belonged each to a group of merchants and business men from the same city; and since most of those cities were granted municipal rights, they were usually called in Rome 'stationes municipiorum.' The existence of such stationes in Rome is known from a passage of Pliny, who speaking of an old lotus-tree which stood in the Forum says: "radices eius in forum usque Caesaris per stationes municipiorum penetrant."¹⁷ Sources of information are scarce, and the matter is complicated by the many different meanings of the term 'statio' both in official terminology and in popular usage¹⁸; but to the Italian archaeologist L. Cantarelli belongs the credit of having seen more clearly than others that the stationes municipiorum were places where foreign merchants had their headquarters for busi-

¹⁶ Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 158 ff. The most complete survey of the evidence concerning the nationality of merchants in all provinces of the empire is still the already quoted study of V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche*.

¹⁷ N. H. xvi. 40. See also De Ruggero, *Il Foro romano*, p. 52. The most important contributions to the subject of the stationes are still those of L. Cantarelli, 'Le Stationes Municipiorum' in *Bull. Com. d'Archeologia*, 1900, pp. 124-134 and of G. Calza, 'Il piazzale delle corporazioni e la funzione commerciale di Ostia,' *ibid.*, 1916, pp. 175-206.

¹⁸ The word statio, aside from its general meaning, was used as a technical term for offices of public administration, as for instance 'statio annonae,' 'statio operum publicorum,' 'statio aquarum,' 'statio marmorum,' 'statio alvei Tiberis,' and others; also for military garrisons or permanent detachments of troops in strategic places, and for the establishments of foreign merchants. Moreover the places where the Roman lawyers taught law and gave consultations in juridical matters (Aul. Gellius, xiii. 13, 1; Martial, vii. 51) were called stationes. Stationes, or mansiones, was also the name given to certain places where in civil or religious celebrations processions or parades

ness and social purposes.¹⁹ Much information on the character and function of these stationes comes from an important document which fortunately has survived and which concerns primarily the statio of the colony of Tyrians in Puteoli.²⁰ From the second century B.C. down to the time of the emperor Claudius Puteoli was the port of entry for the entire trade between the East and Rome. The mouth of the Tiber, encumbered by sand-bars, was accessible only to very small boats, and the little town of Ostia, established as a Roman colony in the fourth century, had for nearly two centuries but little expansion. Puteoli was the real port of Rome, and there foreign merchants had important colonies and stationes which enjoyed a long period of prosperity as long as Ostia remained undeveloped. The statio of the Tyrians was one of the richest. But after the improvement of the harbor of Ostia and the building of great docks there under Claudius, and later after a new harbor was built at Porto by Trajan, large vessels were enabled to land their merchandise at the mouth of the Tiber a few miles from Rome, and Puteoli lost a great part of its trade and of its importance. The colony of the Tyrians decreased in numbers, and became so impoverished that it could not even pay the rent of the large statio. Meanwhile the Tyrian colony in Rome with their statio there gained so much ad-

would stop for the performance of special ceremonies (Orelli 2244; Bull. istit. arch., 1842, p. 134; also 'Pulvinaria' in Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, pp. 357 ff.). Finally the word statio was often appropriated by associations of all kinds to denote their scholae, or headquarters, and sometimes used for the association itself as a synonym of collegium. Cantarelli, p. 131; Waltzing, I, pp. 223, 521; III, no. 924. The word statio also assumed different meanings in Christian terminology, but of this I shall speak in another study concerning the organization of the Christian community.

¹⁹ The theory of Mommsen that the stationes municipiorum were identical with the 'graecostasis' mentioned by Varro: "locus obstructus ubi nationum subsisterent legati qui ad senatum essent missi" (De lingua latina, v. 155) was disproved by Cantarelli. The Italian scholar N. Ignarra, who first published the inscription of Puteoli, had surmised that the stationes were in general commercial institutions, and Mommsen himself had called them 'Faktoreien'; but that the stationes of Rome are to be included in the same class was fully demonstrated by Cantarelli. See also Jordan, Topogr. Stadt Rom, I, 2, p. 342.

²⁰ Kaibel, Inscr. graec. 830. CIG. 5853; Waltzing, III, pp. 441 ff. Dittenberger, Inscript. selectae, vi. 595 with a commentary; Mommsen's commentary in Ber. d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. II, 1850, p. 57.

vantage from the new situation that they came to the rescue of the statio of Puteoli, and for a time paid the sum of one hundred thousand denarii a year to the Tyrians of Puteoli for the rent of their station. Later, when the Tyrians of Rome refused to contribute further, the Tyrians from Puteoli had recourse to the senate of Tyre. As the document from which we learn all this throws much light on the history of the stationes, I quote it in full:

Letter written to the city of the Tyrians, sacred, inviolable, autonomous metropolis of Phoenicia and of other cities and foremost on the sea.

To the officials, the Council, the Assembly of the people of our sovereign fatherland, the Tyrians who dwell at Puteoli, greeting.

To the Gods and to the Fortune of the Emperor!

As you all know, there are at Puteoli other stationes besides ours, but ours is superior to the others in beauty and size. In times past the Tyrians dwelling in Puteoli have provided for its maintenance; for they were many and rich. But now we are only a small group and in view of the expenses which we must bear for the sacrifices and the cult of our national deities who have their temples here, we have no resources left to pay the rent of the statio, which amounts to one hundred thousand denarii per year; the more so that there has fallen on us even the expense of the celebration, in which in Puteoli bulls are offered in sacrifice. Consequently, we beg you to provide for the maintenance of the statio, which cannot continue unless you take upon you the charge of paying the yearly rent of one hundred thousand denarii. As for the other expenses and the repairs and decorating of the statio for the holy days of the Lord Emperor, we agree to assume them, so as not to impose too heavy a burden upon the city. We remind you also that we do not receive any contribution from ship-masters and merchants as is the case at the statio in royal Rome. Therefore to you we turn; our fate is in your hands; give heed to this matter.

Letter written at Puteoli, the sixth day before the kalends of August, in the consulship of Gallus and Flaccus Cornelianus.

The senate of Tyre took the matter under consideration and gave the following decision:

In the session of the Council of December 21st of the year 300 [Tyrian era; corresponding to December 8, 174 A.D.], under the presidency of Calliocrates, son of Pausanias, proëdros.

The letter of the Tyrians who have the statio at Puteoli, sent through one of them, Laches, was read. [The letter follows as above.] After this letter was read, Philocles, son of Diodorus, spoke: The Tyrians who have the station in Rome, he said, have been used in the past to contribute to those in Puteoli the sum of one hundred thousand denarii, from the income of their receipts. Those in Puteoli therefore request that the old custom be maintained, and in case those in Rome refuse to pay the amount mentioned above,

those in Puteoli are willing to assume the expense of the general administration of the two stations on the same terms. The motion is approved: Philocles has spoken well. Those of Puteoli are in the right. Since such has been the custom, it must be maintained. This is in the interest of our city. We decree that the tradition be continued.²¹

From this document it is clear that the stationes of the Tyrians both in Puteoli and in Rome were the representative institutions there of the colonies as units, since through them the cults of the national gods and of the emperors were provided for; that they were officially recognized by the senate of Tyre as institutions necessary for the welfare of the citizens both at home and abroad; and finally that between the two stationes there was a connection not only of commercial, but of social, moral, and religious interests, involving mutual obligations. Otherwise it could not be understood how the senate of Tyre could decide that the statio of Rome must continue to support that of Puteoli and could justify such a decision on the ground of patriotism and public necessity.

The analogy between the statio of Puteoli and the conventus of the mercatores Italici in the East, at least for the period in which they had not been subjected to the régime of the curatores, is apparent even in details. The stationes were the centres for all the activities of the group to which they belonged; there all matters of common interest were discussed, provision was made for the erection of temples to the national gods, the expenses of great public sacrifices, financing the festivals in honor of the emperors, and the upkeep and decoration of the buildings. But were the stationes of foreign merchants in Rome like those of the Tyrians in Puteoli?

²¹ Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (pp. 83-96), has analyzed and discussed this document at great length. One of the points in the letter which raises some difficulty is the large amount of the yearly rent of the statio (one hundred thousand denarii). Corrections of the text have been suggested to reduce the amount to a smaller figure, but it is well to consider that it is the extraordinarily large sum to be paid that explains the appeal of the Tyrians of Puteoli to the senate and people of their native city. Had it been a small matter, they would probably have been able to meet the obligation and would not have sent one of their number to Tyre to solicit aid. The sum, though large, is not impossible, since we know from the letter itself that the statio was the largest in Puteoli, richly decorated and, like the agora at Delos, embracing in its circle the warehouses and probably baths and the shrines of the national gods.

The fact itself that the two Tyrian stationes of Puteoli and Rome are spoken of in the same document as institutions of the same kind seems to leave little doubt that the Roman statio performed the same duties and had the same importance in the life of the group as the statio of Tyre.²² There were, however, certain differences, due to the peculiar conditions in Rome.²³ First of all, there is no doubt that the stationes of foreign merchants in Rome did not possess such large and sumptuous buildings as the agora of the Italians at Delos or the statio of the Tyrians at Puteoli. The stationes of Rome were not warehouses, as was probably the case at Puteoli and in many oriental conventus of Italian merchants. In Rome, while the warehouses stood along the banks of the Tiber in the region of the emporia, the stationes stood near the centre of the city. From the words of Pliny quoted above as well as from various inscriptions it seems that several of them were situated at the western corner of the Forum between the Templum Pacis and the Forum Caesaris. They were probably small buildings not adequate for large gatherings. Evidently they were merely headquarters of the foreign merchants, meeting-places for their officers, and reference-bureaus for all purposes concerning their associations. Thus the stationes in Rome can not have been centres of social or religious life for

²² The statio of the Tyrians was not the only one at Puteoli: the words of the letter, "There are other stations at Puteoli but ours is superior in beauty and size," are explicit. On the other stations, see Dubois, pp. 90 ff.; Waltzing, III, pp. 432-433; Parvan, pp. 115 ff. Cantarelli (p. 131) has rightly likened these stationes to the 'fondachi' of foreign merchants in the Middle Ages in Venice and in the most important commercial centres of Europe, and to those which the Italian commercial cities maintained in the sea-ports and emporia of the East.

²³ The decision at the senate of Tyre, which is fragmentary, ends with these words: "The Tyrian stationarii have two stations, one in the illustrious colony of Puteoli, the other in the royal city of Rome." This suggests that the statio of Rome was founded by the same merchants who formerly belonged to Puteoli, and who had moved to Rome when most boats began to land their merchandise at Ostia. Thus originally the statio of Rome was a branch of that of Puteoli, but by refusing to contribute further to the expenses of the latter the Tyrian merchants of Rome probably broke the union. Up to that time the administration of the two stationes together had remained in the hands of the merchants of Rome. Those of Puteoli offered to assume the combined administration themselves, if those of Rome refused to contribute the usual amount of money to them. The fact that the statio of Rome was originally a mere branch of that

the whole group, and are not to be compared with the stationes of other places, which possessed large buildings and agoras. The reason for this peculiarity of the stationes in Rome is obvious. There, as we have seen, space was too precious by reason of the crowded population to be available for stationes of foreigners. As a matter of fact, it seems that the sites of the stationes were provided by the government on payment of a fixed price by the groups, and that the government did not allow private persons to offer other localities for rent to stationes.²⁴ As for the religious activities of the group they were carried on in the temples of the national deities scattered in the districts inhabited by the foreign population, and in Rome there were plenty of games and festivals provided freely by magistrates and emperors.

Unfortunately few and fragmentary inscriptions have been found mentioning Roman stationes of foreign merchants, but from them we gather that the eastern commercial cities of importance, such as Tarsus, Tiberias, Tyre, Sardis, and Palmyra, had stationes in the capital.²⁵ Of the western provinces only one statio is mentioned, that of Noricum.²⁶ Other fragmentary

of Puteoli itself suggests some difference in the general organization of the two institutions, at least in the beginning.

²⁴ Suetonius (Nero, 37) says that Nero condemned a man because he rented some shops belonging to him for the use of stationes: "Salvidieno Orfito obiectum est quod tabernas tres de domo sua circa forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset." Notice that the shops were rented 'civitibus,' 'to the cities,' that is, to the groups representing the cities. This suggests the official character of the stationes in relation to the cities of origin of the merchants.

²⁵ Tarsus, Kaibel, IG. 1066a and 1066b. According to Waddington (Bull. Com. Arch., 1880, p. 80) these two fragments were part of the same inscription, dedicated by the citizens of Tarsus in honor of Gordian III. But whether it was dedicated by the stationarii of Tarsus is not mentioned. But that Tarsus, "the great and splendid metropolis of Cilicia and Isauria," as it is styled in the inscription, possessed a statio in Rome is very likely. Tiberias, G. Gatti, Bull. Com. Arch., 1899, pp. 241-242. The first inscription is a short dedication of a small statue by a certain Ismenos, who describes himself as from Tiberias and belonging to the statio (τῇ στατίῳ). The second is a fragment in which the words στατίων . . . ρίων καὶ Κλαυδιοπολιτῶν are still extant. Gatti read [τῶν Τυ]ρίων, 'of the Tyrians,' but Kubitschek (Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst., VI, 1903, p. 80) suggested [τῶν Τιβε]ρίων, for Tiberias assumed the name of Claudiopropolis in honor of the emperor Claudius, who gave to the city the title of Roman colony. For Tyre, see the letter above. Sardis, Kaibel, IG. 1008. Palmyra, CIL. VI, 710; 50-51; Parvan, p. 116.

²⁶ "Genio Noricorum / L. Iulius Bassus / stationarius / eorum / d.d." CIL. VI, 250.

inscriptions belonging to *stationes* have not preserved the name of the city of origin of the groups,²⁷ but there is no doubt that the *stationes municipiorum* were numerous in Rome, and that many, if not all, of them were situated near the Forum.²⁸

As we have seen, the community of Italians at Delos was formed by the aggregation of various associations, of which the three most important were those of merchants, ship-owners, and bankers. Were the *stationes* in Rome organized in the same way? The only evidence we possess is to be found in the letter of the *statio* of Puteoli, which, speaking of the *statio* of Rome, says that merchants and ship-owners (*ἐμποροὶ καὶ ναύκληροὶ*) paid their dues to the treasury of that *statio*. But on this point also the peculiar conditions of Rome may have led to changes in the traditional form of organization of the *stationes*. In Delos, for instance, the Poseidoniasts, or men engaged in maritime transportation, formed one of the most important associations of the *conventus*; but in Rome probably the 'navicularii,' though undoubtedly strongly represented in the *stationes*, as is evident from the letter to the senate of Tyre, had also associations of their own, located for the most part in Ostia, which was the port of arrival of their boats and was after all a suburb of Rome. Not only *stationes* of *navicularii* but even general *stationes* of merchants were to be found in Ostia or in Portus.

The recent excavations at Ostia have brought to light an entire forum reserved for corporations of *navicularii* and other associations connected with the commercial life of the city. It

²⁷ Kaibel, IG. 1052 and 1064 (Cantarelli pp. 125-127; Parvan, p. 117).

²⁸ In a letter addressed 'Sosio Senecioni,' Pliny the younger (i. 13) speaking of public readings by authors of new works says that many did not enter the lecture room but remained outside ("in stationibus sedent"), wasting in telling stories the time when they were supposed to be listening to the lecture. Now and then they would inquire whether the author had come, whether he had read the preface, or had finished most of his piece. Then they would drop in "*lente et cunctanter*," and leave again before the piece was finished. Cantarelli suggested that these *stationes* were those of the cities (*stationes municipiorum*), which were used for public lectures. But it seems more probable that the *stationes* of which Pliny speaks were either the halls used by lawyers for lectures and consultations or, better, that the word *statio* is used here in the general sense of 'waiting-room' or 'ante-chamber.' Martial says also: "*domos stationesque circumeo*" (ii. 9).

was built in the time of Augustus, then rebuilt by Claudius, and finally restored and in part rebuilt again by Commodus.²⁹ It consists of a large enclosure in the centre of which stood a small temple dedicated probably to Ceres.³⁰ A colonnade ran around three sides of the court, and on the fourth side was a semi-circular theatre. Around the three sides and opening on the colonnade were sixty-one small rooms for the use of corporations and stationes. The floors of the rooms, as well as those of the colonnade opposite to each room, are of white and black mosaic and decorated with the emblems of various trades, in many cases with the name of the associations. The emblems represent grain-measures, coils of rope, dolphins, hunting-implements, lighthouses, ears of corn, animals such as deer, boars, and elephants, fishing-boats, and especially cargo-boats.

Most of the inscriptions belong to corporations of *navicularii*, but only one mentions *navicularii* of an eastern city, that of the Alexandrians; the others belong to western maritime cities: two of Sardinia, the '*navicularii et negotiantes Karalitani*' and the '*navicularii Turritani*'; one of Gaul, the '*navicularii Narbonnenses*'; and eight of Africa, the '*navicularii Karthaginenses*,' '*navicularii Hyppo Diarrytus*,' '*navicularii Minuenses*,' '*navicularii Muslavitani*,' '*navicularii Gummitani*,' '*navicularii Syllectini*,' '*navicularii Curbitani*,' a '*statio Sabratensium*,' and probably one of Mauretania Caesariensis.³¹ There are moreover two stationes of '*navicularii et negotiantes de suo*,' with no indication of city, another '*naviculariorum lignariorum*,' and two corporations of '*stuppatores*' (dealers in tow for naval use), one of '*codicarii*' (or '*caudicarii*,' owners or managers of light barges for river transportation), and one of '*pelliones*' (furriers).³² G. Calza, who for many years directed

²⁹ G. Calza, *op. cit.*; and for the excavations and discoveries since the date of Calza's article, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1916, pp. 326 ff.; 1920, pp. 166 ff.

³⁰ That the temple was dedicated to Ceres is a mere supposition of Lanciani, *Notizie d. Scavi*, 1881, p. 114. Calza, p. 183.

³¹ See the list of inscriptions and the description of the accompanying emblems in Calza, pp. 187-188. For the *navicularii Narbonnenses* and the *navicularii Curbitani* (Curubis, in Africa proconsularis) see *Notizie d. Scavi*, 1916, p. 336; and for the *navicularii Alexandrini*, *ibid.*, 1920, p. 166.

³² The mosaic, no. 27 (Calza, p. 188), without inscription, shows a bridge of barges on a river. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, p. 535, suggests that the *statio* probably belonged to one

the excavations at Ostia, has rightly remarked that these *stationes*, arranged with such uniformity within the enclosure of the forum, could not have been places for general meetings of the members; their small capacity fitted them only for offices, and in a very limited measure. Evidently the forum was built by the city or the government, and the corporations had the use of it on the payment of a fixed charge.³³ The fact that the corporations mentioned consist of *navicularii*, or of men connected with water transportation such as the '*caudicarii*,' or with ship-building or ship-repairing like the '*stuppatores*,' led Calza to think that the forum of Ostia was really a '*statio annonae*' maintained by the state, and that the corporations having offices there were at the service of the *annona urbis*, which had to do especially with the importation of wheat from Africa.³⁴

It is very likely that this was the purpose of the *stationes* of the forum of Ostia, but there is evidence for the existence of other associations of foreign merchants outside the forum, both in Ostia and in Portus. A corporation of merchants from Gaza is known from an inscription of the early third century.³⁵ It is

of the commercial cities of Gaul on the banks of a large river, for this mosaic is near to the *statio* of Narbonne.

³³ This seems to have been the general rule. The ground and buildings of the *stationes* belonged to the cities where they were established, and were rented by foreign merchants. This was true not only of the *stationes* which were simple offices as in Ostia and Rome, but also of the larger ones. As we have seen, the Tyrians of Puteoli paid a large rent to the city for the use of their station.

³⁴ This explanation is generally accepted (objections by Baron de Villefosse in Bull. arch., 1918, pp. 270 ff.). Rostovtzeff remarks: "The building at Ostia did not contain offices for foreign corporations only: it is clear to me that the east side was given to the corporations of Ostia which were employed by the *annona*. The order of the corporations is mainly geographical. It is very likely that the North side was given to the Northerners. In the West side no legible inscription was found. There was space enough to accommodate the offices of other provinces which sent grain and other species *annonariae* to Rome" (SEHRE, p. 533). The assumption, however, that "only the Western and the Northern provinces were represented in the building" (*ibid.*) is contradicted by the presence of a "*statio naviculariorum Alexandrinorum*."

³⁵ CIG. III, 5892. That foreign merchants, besides these offices connected with the *annona*, had *stationes* in the larger sense of the word is probable, but nothing is known about their location. "Ostia," Calza remarks, "did not lack space, and these corporations had means enough to secure from the city more comfortable headquarters for their social and religious activities" (p. 192). But that was not the case in Rome, where even the ancient local corporations were crowded for space. The only corpora-

difficult to say whether the *stationes* gathered near the Roman Forum served the same purpose, but it is true that their arrangement, and their location in a restricted space, show more similarity with the *stationes* of Ostia than with those of Puteoli.

Besides the *stationes* which seem to have had an inclusive character, we find mention of special associations of merchants of the same product and from the same city or region. Thus in the *conventus* of the *Italici* at Delos there was an association of '*olearii*,' and similar groups are found in Puteoli. In Rome we find mention of a '*corpus negotiatorum olearii ex Baetica*,' of a '*corpus negotiantium Malacitanorum*,' and of an association of '*mercatores frumentarii et olearii Afrarii*.'³⁶ What relation these had to the *stationes* we do not know.³⁷ The general impression, however, is that in Rome these associations of foreign merchants, connected as they were, either directly or indirectly, with the service of the *annona urbis* and therefore more and more controlled by the state, came to have but a loose connection with their national groups. Through becoming

tion which is known to have obtained the use of a *locus publicus* is that of '*fullones*' (cloth-fullers), which appears also under the name of *collegium fontanorum*. From republican times these did not pay anything to the city for the use of the place. On it they built a chapel to Minerva. This privilege was confirmed by Augustus, but was contested about 226 A.D. by the *Fiscus*. This special privilege is explained by the exceptional importance of the services of the *fullones*. CIL. VI, 266-268; Waltzing, I, p. 190; II, p. 472.

³⁶ CIL. VI, 1625, 1626 of the time of Marcus Aurelius; also VI, 1935 (Waltzing, II, pp. 87-89 and IV, p. 35); CIL. VI, 9677 (Waltzing, II, p. 108 and IV, pp. 33-34); CIL. VI, 1620, of the second century (Waltzing, II, p. 106). Waltzing seems to suggest that these *mercatores* might have been Romans who imported oil from Spain and oil and wheat from Africa. It is more likely, however, that they were foreigners from those provinces who had settled in Rome for such commercial purposes. The importation of oil and wheat on a large scale was made by the *annona publica*; but those merchants who ordinarily supplied only private families were often called upon to help the *annona* (*qui annonam urbis adiuvant*). That most of them came to Rome from the provinces is proved by the fact that the emperors often solicited their settlement in Rome by granting privileges; Alexander Severus, for instance, "*negotiatoribus ut Romam volentes concurrerent, maximam immunitatem dedit*" (Iampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 22).

³⁷ That they had their headquarters in the *stationes mercatorum* is possible; at any rate that was the case at Delos. The suggestion was made by De Ruggero: "Since it was a general custom for foreign merchants living in Rome to form associations, probably the *stationes* were also the headquarters of their associations" (II *Foro Romano*, p. 52).

finally official organizations strictly controlled by state regulations, and through the bestowal on their members not only of citizenship but also of special privileges, the ethnic designations of all merchant associations became meaningless; they appeared primarily as associations of classes having a definite task to perform and a definite place in the general social and economic life of the empire.³⁸ In the life of the *stationes* and of the associations of merchants religious activities played at all times an important part, and this was probably the link of connection which kept them bound to the national groups. Since merchants were usually the wealthier and more influential class in each group of foreigners, upon them would fall primarily the support of the national cult. To that class also the small associations of humble workers of their nationality turned to secure 'patroni' and 'protectors' who would dignify the college with their names and help the 'arca communis' by their gifts.

Of another class were the associations in Rome composed of Romans following the same profession, craft, or occupation. Traces from the first three centuries of the empire of similar associations among foreigners from the same nation, province, or city are not lacking, but these associations are not prominent in the documentary evidence, because this type of association was less permanent. The classes from which they recruited their members found it more convenient to join, when they could, the older and more important *collegia* already in existence in the city, so that in the cosmopolitan environment of imperial Rome associations of this type must themselves have become cosmopolitan in composition. Associations of foreigners were probably never formed in certain professions, and others did not enjoy a long life. Those which prospered were either formed by foreigners who could not aspire to membership in the local associations, or by such as in the nature of their profession found it advantageous to retain their national connotations. Of this latter kind were, for instance, the *collegia* of Greek actors and athletes, of which we have some knowledge.

Companies of Greek dramatic artists, including poets, actors,

³⁸ Waltzing, II, pp. 480 ff. See also conclusions in Calza, pp. 204 ff.

and musicians, made their appearance before the imperial period, and in the first century after Christ they appear organized in collegia of a special character under the Greek name of *σύνδοδος*,³⁹ to which they often add the qualification *ιερά* or *θυμελική*.⁴⁰ Connected more or less closely with the theatre or with public celebrations of various kinds were other collegia whose foreign character, although not mentioned in their official titles, may be inferred because the occupation itself was not practised by Romans. The foreign character of their membership is also made evident by the lists of names of members of those colleges, which appear to be of Greeks and orientals. Of this type were the 'collegium symphonicorum,'⁴¹ whose mem-

³⁹ F. Poland, *De collegiis artificum Dionysiacorum*, Dresden, 1895, pp. 18-19, and *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 132 ff. During the empire these collegia were reorganized as a unit: "Post quam Caesares primi post Christum saeculi ludos ad morem certaminum Graecorum instituerunt, saeculo secundo quantum perspicimus collegia ita mutata et aucta sunt ut unum ex omnibus conflaretur (De colleg., p. 19). For the use of the name *σύνδοδος* in Greek associations, see Poland, *Geschichte*, pp. 158-163. In a few cases some collegia of dramatic artists in Southern Italy and Sicily took the designation *κοινόν*; Poland, *De colleg.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ "Sacram quidem appellatam esse synodus, cum alia quoque sodalicia imperatorum temporibus hoc epitheto ornentur, non tam ob Bacchi quam ob Caesarum cultum opinor. *θυμελική* vero synodus dicitur ut athletarum (*ξυστική*) distinguatur" (ib., p. 19). These collegia show in their organization a more distinctly religious form (Poland, *Gesch.*, p. 147). Their president bears the title of 'high priest,' *ἀρχιερεὺς* (Bull. Corr. Hell., VII, p. 470). From a number of inscriptions, mostly on sepulchral slabs, we learn the names of many actors who were members of the Roman synod, as for instance L. Aurelius Apolaustus from Memphis, freedman of Commodus (Lampridias, Commodus, 7, 2), victor in many competitions and finally executed by order of his master (CIL. VI, 10117 and XIV, 4254, of the year 199 A.D.). The actors of the Latin theatre had their separate associations: *corpus scenicorum Latinorum* (CIL. XIV, 2299), the *commune mimorum*, and a kind of general federation, *omnia corpora ad scaenam* (CIL. XIV, 2408, of the year 169 A.D.). An inscription in Vienna mentions also a *collegium scaenicorum Asiaticianorum* as having a common burial-place (CIL. XII, 1922), but probably that meant only that a man by the name of Asiaticus was their patron (Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, Berlin, 1902, II, 1, p. 323, n. 5205). On actors in general see F. Drexel, 'Ueber den häufigen Gebrauch berühmter Künstlernamen,' in Friedländer, IV, pp. 197-202. It must be noticed, however, that the names of actors, artists, and athletes do not always give a sure indication of their nationality, for they often assumed the names of famous predecessors in the profession.

⁴¹ CIL. VI, 4416. In the time of Augustus this collegium came into possession of a part of the columbarium usually called 'of the Marcelli' (Vigna Codini) because it belonged chiefly to freedmen and servants of Livia, wife of Augustus, of Marcella senior, wife of Agrippa, of Marcella junior, wife of Valerius Messala Corvinus, and of Sextus Pompeius (see above, p. 241, n. 39, and Lugli, *Zona archeologica*, p. 308). The

bers were Greeks, the 'synodus magna psaltum,'⁴² composed probably of Syrians, and the 'collegia mimarum,' mostly made up of Greeks and Syrians.⁴³

The collegia of Greek athletes in Rome also took the name of *σύνοδοι* and were held in great esteem, especially after the institution of the 'agones capitolini' by Domitian.⁴⁴ The most famous of these associations maintained offices in the 'curia athletarum' near the Porticus Liviae as a meeting-place and headquarters for all athletes who came to Rome as well as for the administration of the synodus and of the various minor athletic clubs, or *xystoi*, of the Roman palestrae and perhaps of some provinces.⁴⁵

inscription of the Symphoniaci states that the college was organized according to the Lex Julia de collegiis, and sanctioned by the Senate, which granted it a license to play at public spectacles. Side by side with the symphoniaci Graeci there were in Rome associations 'tibicinum Romanorum,' whose existence is traced back to long before the imperial period; CIL. VI, 3877a, 2191, 1054; Waltzing, III, p. 334.

⁴² Bullettino com. d'archeologia, Rome, 1888, p. 409.

⁴³ "Sociae mimae" (CIL. VI, 10109). The inscriptions of mimae whose funerals were taken care of by the collegium are very rare; but we often find inscriptions mentioning actresses and mimae to whom relatives or friends dedicated memorials. Such is the inscription to "Eucharia liberta Liciniae," an actress "docta, erudita omnes artes, virgo," who claims the honor, "Graeca in scaena prima populo apparui" (CIL. VI, 10096). In the first century after Christ there is mention also of companies of *Ῥωμαῖοι* in the East (Hatzfeld, p. 231).

⁴⁴ See the article 'Athletae' by S. Ricci in De Ruggero, Dizionario Epigrafico, I, pp. 744-757, and Poland, Gesch., pp. 147 ff.; Friedländer, IV, 'Zur Geschichte des Kapitolinischen Agons,' pp. 276 ff.

⁴⁵ Ricci (*La Ένοτική Σύνοδος e la Curia athletarum presso S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, 1891*) succeeded in locating the area occupied by the synodus, and has thrown much light on the importance of this organization. Of the character of this great Roman synodus of Greek athletes he says: "The ludi introduced into the capital and established for special reasons were later admitted to the ordinary list of periodical Roman festivals. They spread to the small centres, municipia, and vici, influenced by the same motives which had prompted their admission into the capital, such as the installation of new magistrates, thanksgiving to some deity, funerals of eminent persons, or even for use as an instrument of electoral propaganda (*ambitus*). Their art, however, even if it spread in Rome and outside, was never entirely assimilated by Roman custom" (I, p. 745). Instead, the Romans developed an athletic art of their own. It is true, however, that for a long period the Greek athletes appear to have been more numerous and more famous than the Roman, but the fact that Roman athletes are more rarely mentioned in the inscriptions which have survived cannot be construed as evidence against the popularity of athletics among the Romans. Alexandria under the empire was the cradle of several athletic associations formed for the purpose of touring the western provinces. One of those companies left traces of its passage in Naples

The corporations of actors and mimae mentioned above were at the same time funerary associations, and this character was shared by most of the professional collegia. Of one of them, consisting of physicians and called 'collegium Aesculapii et Hygeae,' we possess an important document, the *lex collegii* of 153 A.D. The names of the officers of this college show their foreign origin: Caius Ofidius Hermes, president (*quinquennalis*), Aelius Onesimus Augusti libertus and C. Salvius Seleucus, curatores, and Aelius Zeno Augusti libertus, *pater collegii*.⁴⁶ Medicine was not a profession for which the Roman felt much attraction; according to Pliny it was thought not to be in keeping with 'Romana gravitas.'⁴⁷ There were, however, in the imperial period Roman physicians who reached some degree of excellence in their art.⁴⁸ "But they are very few," says Pliny, "and have adopted the Greek methods of treating diseases."⁴⁹ Most physicians in Rome were Greeks or orientals, and most were either slaves or of servile descent. Greek and oriental doctors and their art were welcome at Rome, in spite of the fact that men like Cato and even Pliny depicted them as a rout of quacks (which undoubtedly many of them were), murderers, and greedy crooks. "It was not the thing itself [medicine]," says Pliny, "that the old Romans condemned, but the way they practised their art, and above all that the life

(CIG. XIV, 5804, of the year 103 or 116 A.D.). It was under the direction of T. Flavius Archibius from Alexandria, high priest for life of the 'xystus.' The Alexandrians are also conspicuous in the Roman synodus of the Thermae of Titus. M. Aurelius Demetrius and his son Asclepiades, both from Alexandria, appear to have been in succession high priests of the synod. Asclepiades was also *νεοκόρος* of Serapis (CIG. 5906-5913; Lafaye, p. 159). It is interesting to notice that in several inscriptions the synods *τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν* assumed the title *ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης*. Friedländer (II, p. 155) thought that this title meant that these synodoi recruited their members from all parts. Poland, noticing that these synodoi always appear in the inscriptions under the special protection of an emperor whose name is assumed in the official title of the corporation, concluded that the words *ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης* "eo consilio addita sint, ut auspiciis imperatorum unam illam synodum ex omnibus orbis Romani artificibus effectam esse praedicetur" (De coll., p. 21).

⁴⁶ CIL. VI, 10234. Waltzing, I, pp. 210 ff., 305, 386; II, pp. 268 ff.

⁴⁷ N. H. xxix. 8: "Solam hanc artium Graecarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas."

⁴⁸ Friedländer, I, pp. 180 ff.

⁴⁹ "Quiritium paucissimi attigere [hanc artem] et ipsi statim ad Graecos transfugae."

of the sick was to be exploited for gain." But in spite of this, "when the god Aesculapius was received in Rome, they ordered his temple to be built outside the city (outside the pomerium) and on the island (Tiberina), and when all the Greeks were expelled from Italy, even after Cato's time, they made an exception for the doctors."⁵⁰ But Pliny has to confess that the Romans of his time had more confidence in these Greek and oriental physicians than in the Roman ones.⁵¹ The *lex collegii Aesculapii et Hygeae* is not a veritable statute of the association, but contains instructions about the use of a considerable sum of money given to the college by a woman in memory of her husband, who was a freedman of the emperor and probably himself a 'medicus' or in some way connected with the medical profession. The *lex* was approved by the collegium at a meeting held in a chapel consecrated to Divus Titus in the temple of the divi on the Palatine.⁵² From the document we learn that the benevolent woman gave to the association also a piece of land on the Appian Way, with a chapel, a marble statue of Aesculapius, and a covered terrace to be used for their banquets.⁵³ Distributions of bread and wine and of money to all the members were also regulated in detail by the same act. There is no mention in the *lex* of funerary honors for the members, or that the place was their columbarium or burial-ground; but the fact that it was located on the Appian Way, between the first and second mile-stones, side by side with burial-grounds of other associations, shows that the *schola* was on their 'locus sepulturae,' and that the college had a funerary character.

⁵⁰ Ibid. The wrath of Pliny is roused especially by the part taken by these doctors in plots for poisoning emperors and wealthy men: "Quid enim venenorum feracius aut unde plures testamentorum insidiae?"

⁵¹ Those doctors speak Greek, remarks Pliny, and the people who do not understand their language realize their ignorance the less, the higher the opinion they have of them (ibid.).

⁵² This privilege of holding a general meeting (in *conventu pleno*) in an imperial shrine is easily understood since two officers of the association, and probably several members of it, were freedmen of the imperial house.

⁵³ "Locum aediculae cum pergula et signum marmoreum Aesculapii et solarium tectum junctum, in quo populus collegi epuletur."

We learn much more about foreign doctors in Rome from the inscriptions of the *columbaria* belonging to 'collegia domestica,' or colleges formed among slaves and freedmen of the same households. A glance at these shows a long list of 'medici' with Greek and oriental names and a variety of specializations.⁵⁴ We find not only general practitioners ('medici'), but surgeons ('medici chirurgi'), oculists ('medici ocularii'), aurists ('medici auricularii'), and even female slaves and freedwomen who practised medicine ('medicae'), and midwives ('obstetricae'), besides veterinarians ('mulomedici'). In large households such as that of the imperial palace there were even superintendents of the medici ('supra medici').⁵⁵

Among the several hundred professional associations to be found in Rome in imperial times, of which the names are mentioned in inscriptions, many had undoubtedly a membership consisting entirely, or almost entirely, of foreigners or persons of foreign extraction. Specialization in trades and occupations at Rome had developed to a surprising degree. Note, for instance, the long list of specialists given by Plautus whose services were required by a fashionable lady to furnish her wardrobe and for the needs of her personal toilette.⁵⁶ And that the comic poet was not exaggerating is shown by the inscriptions of the *columbaria* in which servants and attendants of the great families specify their occupations and their duties in the household. No wonder, therefore, that the high specialization in trades, crafts, and professions gave rise to a large number of *collegia*, some of whom were real professional associations, while others were merely *collegia tenuiorum*. Only in two inscriptions do we find mention of the nationality of the members: a *collegium* of 'citrarii Neapolitani' ⁵⁷ and a 'collegium Germanorum' formed

⁵⁴ CIL. VI, part 2, *passim*.

⁵⁵ A few instances taken at random in these lists: Philetus (4450), Sterops (8904), Stachys (4452), Eros (8901) medici; Hylarus (3986) medicus chirurgus; Thyrius (8909) medicus ocularius; Amintas (8908) medicus auricularius; Minucia Asste (9615) medica; Hygia (4458) obstetrix; Apollodorus (9610) medicus equarius. Famous 'medici,' like Galenus who went to Rome to practise, were numerous.

⁵⁶ Aulularia iii. 5.

⁵⁷ CIL. VI, 9253. Another *collegium citrarium* (fine cabinet-makers) was united to a *collegium* of merchants and carvers in ivory; Waltzing, IV, p. 12.

among the Germans of the imperial body-guard.⁵⁸ Being funerary associations, they usually took their name from the deity whose protection they had chosen. But there is little doubt that *collegia* like that of *tonsores*,⁵⁹ *unctores*,⁶⁰ *coci*,⁶¹ *aromatarii*,⁶² *aurifici et gemmarii*,⁶³ to mention only a few of them, were in fact associations in which the foreign element was the dominant, if not the only, one.

But still more dominant was the funerary character in the *collegia tenuiorum*.

As we have already noticed, most of the professional and trade *collegia* in the second century had become associations for the special purpose of providing a funeral for their deceased members. The need of such organizations was more keenly felt by poorer immigrants, who had in the new land no large family or personal connections to give them proper burial. Greeks,

⁵⁸ This collegium is mentioned in several inscriptions: CIL. VI, 8802, 8803, 8809, 8811. These northerners assumed Roman names: Bassus natione Frisus (4342), Nereus natione Pecennus (4334) (probably Peucinus, Tac. Ger. 46), Hylarus natione Frisiaeo (4343), and others.

⁵⁹ Waltzing, IV, n. 1368, p. 321. According to Varro the first barbers came to Rome from Sicily ("omnino tonsores in Italia primum venisse ex Sicilia dicuntur post Romam conditam anno CCCCLIV," *Rerum rustic.* ii. 11). Many Sicilians follow the same trade successfully in America today.

⁶⁰ CIL. VI, 9952 " . . . decuriarum vasculario / P. Durdenus Eros / fratri optumo." Waltzing, IV, p. 264. See also the names of *unctores* in the *columbaria*.

⁶¹ CIL. VI, 9262, "Aelius Epaphroditus / scriba cocorum." See also the collegium *cocorum Augusti*, CIL. VI, 8750.

⁶² CIL. VI, 384.

⁶³ CIL. VI, 9433-6, 9545-9, 33872. T. Frank, EHR, pp. 242 ff. For the *argentarii* see CIL. VI, 9156, in which we find such names as Eunus, Icarus, Apollonios, Nicomedes, and Dionysius. How large the number of foreigners by birth or descent among the shopkeepers must have been can be easily inferred from the classification of them made by Frank, who divides them into three types: (1) Handicraftsmen who were free citizens, rented the shops, and conducted the business on their own capital, themselves working at the bench with one or more slaves. (2) Slaves who borrowed some capital at interest or went on share with the man who provided the capital. (3) Men of means who owned the shops but conducted them through slaves or freedmen acting as their agents. The foreigners were numerous even in the free class; they formed almost all the second class and the whole of the class of agents. EHR, p. 270. Of the membership of the *collegia fabrorum* the statistics compiled by Kuehn, *De opificum romanorum conditione privata*, show how large was the class of freedmen and foreigners among them. All this leaves no doubt that this element was predominant in the *collegia* of this type.

Egyptians, and other orientals who settled in Rome, to whom funeral rites were a very important part of their religious life and of their hopes in the world beyond, could not be indifferent to the prospect of being thrown after death into the loathsome puticuli.⁶⁴ Hence both natural instinct and religious belief led them to organize societies which would save the souls of the dead from the terrible fate reserved in the world beyond for those whose bodies did not receive funeral honors and a place of rest.

It is probable that the associations of cultores of foreign deities which appear at the beginning of the imperial period were originally organized with the double purpose of providing for the national cult and for the care of their dead.⁶⁵ In the second century all the associations of cultores of both foreign and Roman deities, with the exception of those of the *divi imperatores*, appear as *collegia funeraticia*. And since the associations of cultores of Roman deities were apparently organized after the example of those of foreign deities, it is reasonable to suppose that the funerary character which distinguishes all the *collegia cultorum* in general was due originally to those of the foreign deities.⁶⁶ From the time of the Flavii, when

⁶⁴ "The literary evidence is explicit on this point, and has been confirmed by modern excavations on the Esquiline, where we know from Varro and Horace that the poor and the slaves were thrown en masse into the puticuli, holes where it was impossible that any memorial ceremonies could be kept up" (Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 395). Even when the puticuli on the Esquilinum ceased to be used and the region began to be occupied by dwellings, public buildings, and gardens, Horace mentioned its name with a sense of disgust ("atras Esquilias," *Sat.* ii. 6, 32), and though "the fields formerly white with dead men's bones" were now a healthy place to live in, yet at night witches and sorcerers still went there to gather herbs and bones (*Sat.* i. 8, 14-22).

⁶⁵ A complete list of the associations of cultores of the various deities found in inscriptions is given in De Ruggero, *Diz. Epigr.*, II, article 'Cultores' by E. Breccia, pp. 1296 ff. See Waltzing, I, pp. 42 ff.

⁶⁶ "Il est probable que les premiers cultores n'eurent qu'un but religieux. Leur cotisations (stips) ne servirent d'abord qu'aux frais du culte. Mais comme tous les collèges ils songèrent en même temps aux funérailles et, plus tard, ce qui était l'accèssoire devint le principal; le culte céda le pas aux funérailles sans jamais disparaître. C'est ainsi que s'explique ce caractère religieux des collèges funéraires; c'est peut-être ainsi qu'ils adoptèrent l'usage des cotisations mensuelles, qui a une origine religieuse. Naturellement les nombreux collèges qui naquirent quand cette transformation fut accomplie, eurent des leur naissance un caractère plutôt funéraire que religieux." Waltz-

foreign immigration in Rome assumed a more cosmopolitan character and larger proportions, the *collegia funeraticia* began to multiply, superseding the coöperatives of the *socii columbarii*, for they imposed very small fees and were within reach of even the poorest, the more so that in most cases the *locus sepulturae*, or piece of land used for inhumation or incineration, was given free to the *collegium* by a patron or generous benefactor.

The fact that in the eastern provinces of the empire, from which most of the immigrants came to Rome, there is no trace of the existence of such associations as the *collegia funeraticia*, and that very few of them are to be found in Africa, which contributed so largely to the Roman foreign population during the second century, does not disprove their origin among foreigners in Rome.⁶⁷ They were indeed not an importation but a local institution, created to satisfy a special need of the immigrant groups in the capital of the empire.

A similar situation has produced similar results among the immigrants in America, where, after so many centuries, we find under various names the *collegia tenuiorum* of ancient Rome. The Italians, for instance, have organized throughout the United States hundreds of small associations which go under the general name of 'mutual-aid societies.' The members, usually less than one hundred, are often natives of the same city or village in Italy, or at least of the same province, and

ing, I, p. 263. This hypothesis of a gradual transformation of the *collegia cultorum* into *collegia funeraticia* is based on too many hypothetical assumptions. Granted that the 'cultores deorum' originally were foreigners, the duty of the association to provide funerals and burial for the dead members must have been more than an accessory to the cult of the patron deity. In the inscriptions concerning cultores of foreign deities the funerary character of the associations is always conspicuous. Among the cultores of Roman deities there may have been some which in an early period did not have the character of funerary associations and were concerned only with the cult of the patron deity. Such was always the case with the cultores of the emperors. But with this single exception all the cultores of Roman deities appear later as *collegia funeraticia*. And when we reflect that the law concerning the *collegia tenuiorum* did not allow any individual to belong to more than one *collegium*, it is evident that at least from that time on all associations of cultores must have had the double character of a religious and a funerary *collegium*.

⁶⁷ On the African funerary associations, see Waltzing, in *Musée Belge*, II, 1898, p. 281, and III, 1899, p. 139.

their association is named either from the patron saint of their town or from the town itself, or else has a name suggested by some historical tradition of their old home. But these associations have neither a religious nor a patriotic character, since they do not impose on their members any political creed or any party affiliation, and usually do not require the observance of special religious duties. They are all essentially funerary associations, their main purpose being to provide a decent funeral for their members.⁶⁸ Yet they do not represent a traditional Italian institution imported into America, since in Italy the patriotic associations in cities and villages have in general a political character and a party affiliation, and the religious confraternities impose pious exercises and definite religious duties on their members. Like the *collegia funeraticia* of ancient Rome, the associations of Italian workmen in America are the product of local circumstances.

But whatever the origin of the *collegia* may have been, there is no doubt that in ancient Rome the great majority of the members of the *collegia funeraticia* were recruited among foreigners, people of small trades, and freedmen and slaves of all kinds. The national character of these funeral societies is not indicated by their names such as appear in inscriptions, except in a few cases of cultores of a foreign divinity. Freedmen and slaves, for instance, would form *collegia domestica* named from the families to which they belonged, while small tradesmen would use the name of the trade which was practised by most of them, or that of its patron deity. Moreover, the gradual adaptation to environment and the consequent absorption by the local element which we have mentioned above could not fail to obliterate in time the original ethnic character of those *collegia funeraria* which were strong enough to survive through several generations. But in most cases they were not long-lived; many would die by exhaustion, either because the members

⁶⁸ These modern associations among the immigrant groups in America have moreover the purpose of mutual assistance in case of sickness or other disability of their members. In this they differ from the *collegia tenuiorum* of ancient Rome. The opinion of Mommsen (*De Collegiis*, pp. 91 ff.) and of many others after him, that mutual assistance was also practised by the Roman *collegia* is now abandoned (Boissier, *La Religion romaine*, II, pp. 296-304, and, more completely, Waltzing, I, pp. 300-308).

failed to pay the monthly fees, or because they could not find new members to replace those who had died.⁶⁹ The *collegia domestica* composed of slaves and *liberti* of the same large household were obviously formed by persons belonging to various races who happened to be owned by the same master. From the inscriptions, mostly in *columbaria*, it appears that here Greeks and orientals were in a large majority, though many of them must have been 'vernae,' that is, born in the house, even when this is not explicitly stated on the slabs. In their case the family tie took the place held in other associations by the professional or national connection; but these *collegia* were organized on the same pattern and had the same religious and funerary character.⁷⁰

The *collegia domestica* were very numerous in the time of Augustus, and it is probable that the law governing associations was not applied to them, and that they were not dissolved. But whether they were assimilated to the *collegia tenuiorum* and required authorization we do not know. The master's house was the official location of a *collegium domesticum*, but those of the imperial household often appear to have had their *schola* in localities annexed to the temples of the 'divi.'⁷¹ The importance of the *collegia domestica* in the history of foreign groups and foreign influences in Rome can be seen when we reflect that in those family environments, while on the one hand slaves and *liberti* underwent a process of romanization, on the

⁶⁹ We have an example of this extinction of a *collegium* by exhaustion in a curious document of the year 167 A.D. concerning a funerary college of freedmen and slaves who worked in the gold mines of Dacia. Artemidorus, magister of the *collegium Jovis Cermenii*, notifies all concerned that the *collegium* is dissolved. When organized it had fifty-four members, but they were now reduced to only seventeen, and of these the majority had not appeared at the regular meetings nor paid their fees for many months. The few who were still faithful to the *collegium* decided therefore to put an end to it, and to give back to the contributors the little money still in the treasury. CIL. III, 924-927; Waltzing, II, p. 338; III, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁰ Waltzing, I, pp. 148, 215. List of *collegia domestica*: III, pp. 342 ff. Also articles in De Ruggero, *Dizionario*, and Pauly-Wissowa.

⁷¹ For instance, "*collegium quod est in domu Sergiae L. f. Paulinae*" (CIL. VI, 10264); and for the imperial household: "*collegium cocorum Augusti quod est in Palatio*" (CIL. VI, 7458), and "*collegium numinis dominorum quod est sub templo divi Claudii*" (VI, 10251a). This was a college of cultores of imperial divi, but being within the imperial household participated in the character of *collegium domesticum*.

other hand they introduced into the household traditions customs, and religious beliefs of their own. The influence that faithful servants and clever liberti exercised on their masters and on the whole household is well known. At times (and in the imperial household often) it affected even the political and general social life of Rome, and this was equally true of the religious life of the city, for, as again and again happened with Christianity, foreign religions could be introduced into aristocratic families through propaganda carried on within the domestic walls by slaves and freedmen.

But besides the foreigners gathered in associations there were also in Rome other classes of foreigners who, without forming professional collegia, exercised an enormous influence in all spheres of Roman life. Such were the astrologers, teachers, lawyers, and philosophers. Etruscan divination had a long tradition at Rome, and was an important element in religion and politics as well as in the private life of the people. But astrology came from the East.⁷² Oriental astrologers, especially from Egypt and Chaldaea, for whom Cato had a special hatred, were very fashionable in Rome not only among the lower classes but in the aristocracy, and several emperors are known to have often resorted to their secret art. Thus, in spite of the laws against them enacted at various times and expelling them from the city and from Italy, astrologers, soothsayers, and all sorts of quacks were always abundant and made a good living. "The astrologers in our city," said Tacitus, "will always be expelled and will always be here." Several famous astrologers with Roman names are mentioned by the historians of the empire, such as Tiberius Claudius Balbillus mentioned by Tacitus, and his successor Iulius Vestinus. But at least in the case of Balbillus there is very strong probability that his mother was a Syrian.⁷³

⁷² Friedländer, I, pp. 210-212.

⁷³ F. Cumont, 'Astrologues Romains et Byzantins,' in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, XVIII, 1918-19, pp. 33 ff. The importance of astrology in the Roman world and its religious connections have been thoroughly illustrated by Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and the Romans*, 1912; and 'Fatalisme astral et religions antiques,' *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, 1912, pp. 513 ff.; by Fr. Boll, *Sterngläube*

Teachers of grammar (*grammatici*) who were slaves or *liberti* appear in considerable numbers in the *collegia domestica* and in the inscriptions of the *columbaria*, which sometimes state also which of the two languages the person in question taught, whether Greek or Latin.⁷⁴ Every Roman family of wealth had in the *familia urbana* at least one *grammaticus* or pedagogue to teach the youngsters of the family or to assist the master as *scriba* or corrector, or even in a more substantial way if he was a man with literary or philosophical ambition.⁷⁵ But at all times there were also in Rome teachers of free birth or freedmen who offered their services to the public, and many of whom had come from the provinces both eastern and western. Some were very successful, especially when employed by influential men or used by the government in public schools; but most of them, according to the Latin writers, were a hungry crowd ill paid and in low consideration.⁷⁶

A little better fared the teachers of oratory and rhetoric, whose art, when they were really gifted men, was highly appreciated and well remunerated. Fronto from Africa, Domitius Afer from Gaul, Quintilian from Spain, to mention only a few westerners, owed fortune and fame to their high skill in the art of teaching. The Africans seem always to have provided imperial Rome with many teachers and lawyers. The offspring of Roman families settled in Africa, or of families of Punic origin, went to Rome in large numbers to receive an education, and often turned from the study of law and rhetoric to a military and political career, which, as in the case of Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus, could even lead to the imperial dignity.⁷⁷ Jurisprudence was no more a close field reserved to the *Quirites*. In the golden age of Roman jurisprudence, from Marcus Au-

und Sterndeutung, 2nd ed., 1918, and *Die Astrologie bei den Römern*; and by Turchi, *Storia delle Religioni*, 2nd ed., 1922, pp. 567-568.

⁷⁴ See above p. 193 note 15, p. 194 note 16.

⁷⁵ See the study of Cicero's *familia urbana* in Park, *The Plebs*, pp. 58 ff.

⁷⁶ Friedländer, I, pp. 173 ff. In the list of prices and salaries fixed by Diocletian a teacher, according to the calculation in modern money made by L. Homo, p. 139, received five francs a month from each pupil, while a shoemaker received three francs for a pair of shoes and the customer had to supply the leather and all the material needed.

⁷⁷ See my article, 'The Church of Rome at the End of the Second Century,' pp. 227 ff.

relious to the end of the Severian dynasty, many of the greatest jurists who contributed so much to its development and to its reëlaboration were of provincial birth. Such were Salvius Iulianus an African from Hadrumetum, Cervidius Scevola a Greek, Aemilius Papinianus probably an oriental related to Julia Domna, Domitius Ulpianus who derived his origin from Tyre in Phoenicia, and, perhaps the greatest of all, Iulius Paulus who likewise is said to have been of eastern origin.

The influence of foreign teachers on the Roman youth should not be underestimated. As a matter of fact, while the Graeculi teachers of grammar declared that theirs was a miserable life, their Roman competitors complained that in the houses of the rich these foreigners were preferred to them and by intrigue wormed themselves into the effective sovereignty of the home.⁷⁸ Still greater was the influence of the professors of oratory. Martial calls Quintilian "the noblest guide of irresolute youth"; some of these were at times suspected of having taken part in political affairs and in conspiracies.⁷⁹

Philosophy, for which the ancient Roman had no use, so that the first Greek representatives of this study who appeared at Rome encountered a decree of expulsion, had now become a profession in the imperial city. Dio Chrysostom, himself a sophist, who had come to Rome from his native Prusa in Bithynia in the time of Vespasian, divided the philosophers of his period into four classes: first, the philosophers who did not teach at all; secondly, those who were real professors, that is, who taught a definite group of students; thirdly, those who acted as public orators, travelling from place to place and giving public lectures; and fourthly, the most interesting class, which he describes as follows: "Of the so-called Cynics there is a large number in the city. . . . At the cross-roads, in the by-streets, at the entrance-gates of the sanctuaries, these men gather and deceive slaves and sailors and people of that sort, stringing together jests and a variety of gossip and vulgar retorts. Thus they do no good, but the very greatest evil."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Friedländer, I, p. 178; Juvenal 3, 69 ff.; Lucian, *De merc. cond.* 38.

⁷⁹ Friedländer, I, pp. 179 ff.

⁸⁰ Dio Chrys., *Oratio xxxii.* 10; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 109 ff.

All these four classes were largely represented in Rome, and it seems that the teaching and activities of most of them became so objectionable to the imperial policy that Vespasian banished them from the city and still more severe measures against them were taken by Domitian. As Rostovtzeff remarks, "It seems impossible to find any other explanation than that all the philosophers, higher and lower alike, carried on both a political and a social propaganda, which appeared decidedly dangerous to Vespasian." The Cynics not only preached a return to nature but had become political agitators. These Greek street-philosophers, to whom Rome was the Mecca of their wandering life, seem to have shared with the Stoics "the theme of the tyrant as opposed to the king, a theme which was often treated by philosophers of both schools and which was later developed by Dio Chrysostom in his famous speeches on tyranny and kingship."⁸¹ Stoicism had made many converts in the old Roman aristocracy and the senatorial class, and these voiced a dignified opposition to the form that the 'principatus' assumed under the last Julian emperors and the Flavians. The agreement on this point of the only philosophy which found a congenial field among the true Romans and of the philosophy of the streets which stirred the alien rabble of the city, could not fail to provoke reaction from the suspicious imperial policy, with the result that the Stoic Roman senators whose dignified life and death were glorified by Tacitus lost their lives, and the loquacious street-philosophers were expelled from the city. "It is characteristic, however, of their persistence that despite their banishment they succeeded in making their way into Rome again and resuming their preaching in public places."⁸²

Under the Antonines, when the elective system by adoption seemed to have reconciled, as Tacitus says, the 'libertas' and the 'principatus,' the philosophers, both Stoic and Cynic, found in it the realization of their ideal of the *βασιλεία*. Not only were they now safe in Rome, but with Marcus Aurelius philosophy sat on the imperial throne and from the ranks of philosophers many were chosen to fill important positions in the government

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 110.

⁸² Ibid., p. 113.

of the empire. It was a pity that it was the emperor-philosopher who broke the rule of adoption and by securing the succession of Commodus reestablished the tyranny. We may notice incidentally that it was under the Antonines that most of the so-called Christian philosophers settled in Rome, starting schools and sects which brought the Christian community of Rome to the verge of disruption.

This rapid survey of certain aspects of the life and institutions of the foreign groups in Rome already suggests a whole series of comparisons, analogies, and deductions, which will be of great help in the attempt to reconstruct the life and organization of the early Christian community there. But first it is necessary to study from the same point of view the religions and religious organization of the foreign groups in Rome, a subject which has closer connections with the problem of the early development of the Christian church in its Roman environment. It will not be useless, however, to summarize here the conclusions of our survey up to this point. Rome during the empire was a great cosmopolitan city, where large foreign groups with peculiar institutions of their own lived side by side. The activities of these groups were more evident in the special districts where their temples, their stationes, the scholae of their collegia, stood and reminded them of their national connections.

The associations were the most important manifestation of foreigners' group-life, and they always assumed a religious and a funerary character, not only because the law did not allow other forms of association, but also because the cult of their national gods was the only link that bound them to their national traditions and because the care of the dead was a vital part of their social and religious life. And finally, and this seems to me to be an important point, these groups, at least as long as they kept their individuality, remained in relation with their country or city of origin either for commercial or for religious reasons. The instance of the Tyrians of Puteoli and Rome shows also that there was a system of relations, more or less constant and more or less general, among the various groups of

the same origin scattered in various places, and especially among the groups settled elsewhere and the Roman groups.

But in the peculiar environment of Rome the various groups underwent systematically a process of gradual dissociation and of absorption into the cosmopolitan mixture, and thereby tended to lose their identity and their individuality. Their institutions followed the same fate under the dissolving action of Roman cosmopolitanism.

IV

THE RELIGIONS OF THE FOREIGN GROUPS IN ROME;
ROME THE NEW RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF THE
ANCIENT WORLD

It is not my intention to set forth here the history of oriental cults in Rome, a task which has been accomplished by Franz Cumont and other learned scholars. My purpose is only to give a sketch of some of these cults, so far as they were the religions of immigrant groups, and to inquire whether and to what extent they adapted themselves to their Roman environment.

The effort of Augustus to fix a definite standard for the religious life of Rome by reviving ancient rites and institutions, resulted only in infusing into the official cults a larger dose of dry legalism, without inspiring genuine enthusiasm. The identification of the social function of religion with the function of the state which was characteristic of the Roman tradition, was now emphasized, with the consequence that the official cult of the Capitoline triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, more and more assumed a highly political significance. The official worship became preëminently a manifestation of political loyalty, ceasing to affect the individual conscience or to have any considerable part in the religious experience of the individual conscience.¹ The lower classes turned more and more toward the various private cults and mystery-religions, while persons of higher culture were inclined rather to look for a religious and moral content in the doctrines and schools of philosophy. The official cults remained for both groups only a symbol of the power of Rome and the conquering spirit of its institutions. The official pomp and ceremony by which these cults were surrounded was a feeble compensation for their lack of genuine spiritual content and so of living faith and sincere religious enthusiasm. In the city itself the cults of the *Urbs Roma Aeterna*, of the *Divi Imperatores*, or of the *Genius* of the living emperor,

¹ See on this point the suggestive presentation of W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 223 ff. As Fowler puts it, "the State religion had mainly a disciplinary influence but it hypnotized the religious instinct."

which were soon added to the cult of the Capitoline triad, were never taken very seriously in the religious sense.² They acquired more importance in the provinces, but even there did not penetrate deeply into the consciousness of the masses. A brief survey of the place held by the official cults in the provinces will help us to understand the part played by Rome in their propagation.

Detailed analysis of the historical evidence, especially of the abundant epigraphic material,³ has revealed that in the western

² On the origin and character of the imperial cult there is a large bibliography. See the list given by Dom Leclercq in his article 'Empereurs' in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, IV, 2, 1921, col. 2765. Toutain in his suggestive study (*Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, I. *Les Cultes officiels*, Paris, 1907) draws the following conclusion from the epigraphic sources on the cult of the emperors in the capital: "À Rome même il ne semble pas que le culte des empereurs ait été jamais populaire. L'empereur, au moins pendant les premiers siècles de l'empire, était trop proche pour qu'on le traite comme un dieu. Les dévotions et les hommages vraiment religieux s'adressaient de préférence au maître du Capitole, au chef de la Triade dont le sanctuaire dominait d'un côté le Forum et le Palatin, de l'autre le Champ de Mars" (p. 210).

³ We summarize here the result reached by Toutain. F. Cumont (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1912, pp. 125-129), reviewing Toutain's book, remarked that the latter's conclusions, based on the analysis of the epigraphic material, cannot be considered as having the value of conclusive historical evidence, because epigraphic evidence is by its very nature limited and casual, and therefore does not justify conclusions of a general character. Arguments based on the silence of the inscriptions, of which only a small proportion have reached us, would be very weak evidence if not supported by other, more positive arguments. Cumont's remark is undoubtedly well founded. But in Toutain's case it is fair to observe that the epigraphic material on which he has based his conclusions is not limited to few and doubtful inscriptions; on the contrary it is very large and covers a long period of time as well as a great part of the Roman provinces. The numerical importance and the wide range of time and space give it high value as a documentary source. Moreover, and this point seems to me very important, the analysis of the inscriptions shows that certain significant facts, as for instance the more intensive expansion of certain cults in certain regions and in certain periods rather than in other regions or periods, and their large diffusion among certain classes of the population rather than among others, are observed in an almost uniform way in the various groups of inscriptions. This uniformity and identity of character in the development, as shown by inscriptions which cover such a large ground, gives them a more than casual significance and confers upon the whole epigraphic documentation an historical value which it would be unfair to discard. Finally it may be remarked that the results of Toutain's epigraphical survey are in a general way in accord with the conclusions derived from other sources, and offer an altogether satisfactory explanation of the process of expansion of the oriental cults in the west as well as of their decay and final extinction. It seems to me that they may be regarded in general as well founded.

provinces of the empire, the cult of Rome and of the emperors was practised mainly by the provincial aristocracy, by officials of the administration and army, and by the municipal bourgeoisie, all persons who in general possessed Roman citizenship and were eager to fill public office and acquire titles of honor and social distinction. The plebs and the cities which could not aspire to municipal honors were little concerned about these cults. The cities appear occasionally to have possessed collegia of Augustales, but the members of these were largely freedmen of Greek or oriental origin.⁴ Even the cult of the Capitoline triad seems to have been practised in the provinces mostly by officials and soldiers and by foreigners, and the native population was never much interested in it unless these deities were identified with local gods, as happened in Gaul in the case of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁵

It is interesting to note that the spread of the cult of the emperors and of the Capitoline deities in the provinces was a spontaneous movement in official circles and among colonies of

⁴ The official cult of Rome and the emperors was maintained by the provincial and municipal administrations. In the provinces it was under the jurisdiction of the *σύννοδος*, or provincial council, by which the *ἀρχιερεὺς* or sacerdos or flamen provincialis was elected; in the municipia and coloniae it was controlled by the senate or council of the city, which elected the flamen municipalis. In the eastern provinces, where the cult received its first impulse, it had not only an official but also a popular character, since it was rooted in the ancient tradition of those nations (L. Bréhier, *La conception du pouvoir impérial en Orient pendant les trois premiers siècles de l'Ère chrétienne*, *Revue Historique*, 1907, pp. 75-80). But in the western provinces it remained a strictly official cult. On the provincial assemblies and their religious functions, see the old but still very valuable book of Giraud, *Les Assemblées provinciales dans l'empire Romain*, 1887, based on the studies of Marquardt, 'De Conciliis et sacerdotibus provincialibus,' *Ephem. Epigr.*, I, pp. 200-214, and Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, V. For additions see W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 3rd ed., 1914, and E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, London, 1906, especially ch. XIII, pp. 236-238; E. Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu aux Empereurs romains*, 1891; and the brief but suggestive presentation of the nature and value of the cult of the emperors in G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, I, pp. 569-576.

⁵ Toutain summarizes as follows his conclusions about the cult of the Capitoline Triad in the western provinces: "Ce qui résulte pour nous des documents que nous avons cités, c'est que le culte de la Triade capitoline recruta peu d'adeptes dans la société provinciale proprement dite; les fidèles de ces divinités étaient peut-être nés dans telle ou telle province, mais leur carrière officielle ou leur vie militaire les en avait éloignés; dans les provinces où nous trouvons des traces de leur dévotion, ils étaient presque toujours des étrangers, des immigrés" (I, p. 198).

foreigners. We do not find uniformity of practice in the provinces for these official cults, and even the titles assumed by the priests vary from province to province and from city to city. We find no trace of any imperial law regulating the form of the provincial cult or of any provincial law regulating the cult in the municipia.⁶

⁶ The inscriptions relative to the cult of the emperors in the western provinces are of different origins. Some belong to provinces or municipia, others to associations, and a few to individuals. From those of the first class it appears that the sacerdotēs or flamines of the provinces were members of the provincial aristocracy, generally Roman citizens, often knights and men who had gone through the *cursus honorum* of provincial administration (*omnibus honoribus in republica sua functi*). They were men altogether romanized in habits and mental attitude, and the priesthood of the imperial cult was the highest goal of their ambition, since it gave them the right to preside over the provincial assembly and many other privileges (Toutain, I, pp. 128-152). The sacerdotēs or flamines municipales appear also to have been members of the municipal bourgeoisie: "En grande majorité ils étaient nés et avaient toujours vécu dans la ville où ils exercèrent le sacerdoce du culte impérial, et ce sacerdoce fut pour eux l'honneur suprême comme le couronnement de leur carrière publique" (Toutain, I, p. 160). Many of them were veteran soldiers and petty officers who at the end of their military career had settled in their native town or in a provincial city (p. 163).

The inscriptions dedicated by associations are mostly from the Augustales, whose special duty was the care of the imperial cult. These associations appear to consist of freedmen and plebeians who were almost entirely immigrants from the eastern provinces. Among the Seviri and Augustales mentioned in inscriptions, the proportion of Greek and oriental names is very high. Toutain has gathered a list containing one hundred and thirty-six Greek names and many others with the significant surnames of Asiaticus, Syrus, Bithynitis, Lemnaeus, and the like (I, pp. 170-174). It is known that merchants and freedmen of Greek and oriental origin were very numerous in Tarraconensis, Gallia Narbonensis, Dalmatia, and Dacia, and it is from those provinces that most of the inscriptions of Augustales come. While the priests of the provincial and municipal cults belonged to the local aristocracy dignified by Roman citizenship, the Augustales were foreigners. The native plebeian population is entirely absent.

The inscriptions dedicated by private individuals show great variation in the different provinces. In Africa they contain only names of municipal magistrates and officers of the imperial administration or the army. In Spain they are few, and contain mostly names of Greek freedmen. In Britain, where the Augustales left no trace at all, the imperial cult found devotees only among the soldiers of the permanent camps or of the military posts scattered along the frontiers. They were not even Roman citizens, since they belonged to the auxiliary troops recruited in various countries. It is only in Gaul that numbers of natives are found mentioned in these inscriptions, but it must be noticed that in these cases the imperial divinity is never invoked alone but is always accompanied either by Jupiter O. M. or, more often, by a Gallic deity. This shows that the cult of the emperor among the natives of Gaul was accepted only in part and as a complement of the cult of local deities (Toutain, I, pp. 175-179). As a whole it appears that the cult of the emperor in the western provinces had played very little if any part in the religious life of the native population.

These cults in the provinces readily associated themselves with the worship of Graeco-Roman divinities, and even with native cults or oriental cults imported by immigrants. The cult of the Graeco-Roman pantheon was practised in a great variety of forms by imperial functionaries, by soldiers, and by freedmen and slaves of eastern origin; but when one of these cults appears among the native population, it is found that the object of the cult, although bearing a Latin name and represented by Graeco-Roman images, was not so much an imported deity as a native god, venerated in the province under a different name long before the Roman conquest and deeply rooted in local tradition.⁷

Similar was the situation of the oriental cults and of the mystery-religions in the western provinces. The fact that we find abundant traces of them in all these provinces, even the remotest, is no evidence that they made many proselytes or acquired a firm foothold among the native populations.⁸ On the contrary, the evidence, gathered mainly from inscriptions, shows that the mysteries of Isis, Cybele and Attis, and Mithras, and the various Syrian cults were practised mostly by aliens — officers and soldiers, merchants and tradesmen, freedmen and slaves, whose names reveal their foreign origin.⁹

⁷ Cumont's generalization (*Or. Rel.*, p. 21) that the aboriginal religions of Gaul, Spain, and part of Africa perished and disappeared, is probably too sweeping. The conclusions of Toutain (*I*, pp. 464–469), even if we attach but a limited value to the epigraphic evidence, show the persistence of the local deities, though often under Roman names. The inscription found in Rome in the ruins of the praetorian camp on the Esquiline is very significant. In it the Gauls of the body-guard call Jupiter, Apollo, Mercurius, Mars, Diana, and Hercules “*dii sacri patrienses ex provincia Belgica*” (*Année épigr.*, 1894, no. 18).

⁸ On this point also the generalizations of Cumont seem not to be warranted by the epigraphic evidence (Toutain, *II*, *Les Cultes Orientaux*, 1911).

⁹ If we mark on a map of the western provinces the places where the oriental cults have left unmistakable traces, we find that they are widely scattered and often at great distances apart. These cults appear stronger in the centres at which there were groups of foreigners of eastern origin, or military garrisons, or which were the seat of sectional administration with the residence of the imperial agents and procurators (Toutain, *II*, p. 34, also Clifford H. Moore, ‘*Oriental Cults in Britain*,’ *Harvard Classical Studies*, *XI*, pp. 47–60; and ‘*Oriental Cults in the Gauls and in Germany*,’ *Transactions American Philological Assoc.*, *XXXVIII*, 1908, pp. 109–150). The Syrian cults were practised almost exclusively by soldiers of legions which had formerly been stationed in Syria or were recruited there; such was the case with the

The names of officers of the local administration, provincial or municipal, are conspicuous in the lists of devotees of these cults only in periods in which the latter were in special favor with the living emperor.¹⁰ This, together with the fact that their chief centres are the seats of provincial or municipal administration, military camps, or commercial stations along the great roads of communication, make it clear that the diffusion of those cults in the western provinces was due not only to the presence of immigrants from the great eastern centres of those religions, but also to the direct influence of the capital.¹¹

cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Magnae by the Vallum Hadriani in Britain, which was due to the presence of the Cohors I Hamianorum (CIL. VII, 758 and 753). This cult left traces in Pannonia, Moesia, and Dacia, and in the camp of Lambesis in Africa, all of these being places where cohorts recruited in Syria or nearby regions were to be found in the garrisons (Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, 1895, pp. 57-66). The Phrygian cult of Attis was more common in the seaports and the cities along the great roads of communication. In the inscriptions concerning this cult very few imperial officers or soldiers are mentioned, and still fewer Roman citizens. The municipia or colonies often take part in this cult officially, as well as some native individuals; but most of the devotees are foreigners of eastern origin. In Africa more than elsewhere the bourgeoisie of the municipia took a lively interest in this cult. That was due primarily to the great similarity between the Phrygian Magna Mater and the Phoenician Tanit, who under the empire had become the Virgo Coelestis of Carthage (Graillet, 'Les dieux tout-puissants Cybèle et Attis et leur culte dans l'Afrique du Nord,' *Revue Archéologique*, I, 1904, pp. 334 ff.). In Gaul, according to Toutain (II, pp. 118-119), the popularity of this cult was due mainly to the fact that it assumed there the character of an agricultural religion. Finally, the cult of Mithras, as is well known since the exhaustive studies of Cumont, owed its diffusion in the western provinces mainly to the army. Freedmen and slaves had also an important part in the propaganda, but from the inscriptions it appears that most of them were employees of the procurators in the imperial administration and often they were of Greek or oriental origin.

¹⁰ The government officials in the provinces followed the example of their master. The greater part of the inscriptions found in the provinces relating to the cult of the Egyptian gods belong to the period of the Antonines (Toutain, II, pp. 31-32); those relating to the Syrian cults begin to appear in the period of the Flavii, and become numerous under the Severi (Toutain, II, pp. 68-70), only to disappear completely about the end of the third century; those relating to Mithras make their first appearance under Commodus but belong mostly to the later period of the tetrarchia (ib., p. 159).

¹¹ The same is true of the propaganda of the religious syncretism which took form especially under Alexander Severus. The influence of the imperial court in the diffusion of syncretism among the western provincials is undeniable; but it was represented there only by imperial functionaries. "L'absence à peu près complète de noms indigènes puniques ou libiques en Afrique, ibères ou celtibères en Espagne, celtiques en Gaule, sur les dédicaces et les ex-voto, démontre par une preuve sans doute négative, mais

Rome thus played a capital rôle in the work of religious propaganda during the imperial period. This suggests that Rome was not only the great political centre of the empire but had become also its great religious centre. But does it mean that all these oriental religions and cults had been so fully romanized as to assume the character of Roman institutions and to become an integral part of the political and social tradition of Rome? A brief analysis of the history of foreign cults and religions in Rome may throw some light on this important problem.¹²

Foreign religions in Rome show a uniform historical development. Introduced by foreigners and practised by foreign groups, they were granted practical toleration as religions of foreigners, either those who were obliged by compulsion to live in Rome or those to whom hospitality and the rights of 'peregrini' had been granted. With the gradual increase of the foreign elements and the naturalization of large numbers of them, their religions began to play an important part in the social and religious life of the city; they even gained converts among the native population, began to claim recognition and public rights, to invade the sacred precincts, and to appear as dangerous competitors with the traditional Roman religion. The conservative classes and the government endeavored in various ways and at various times to stem the tide, but neither laws nor force could prevent a cosmopolitan city from assuming a cosmopolitan character, in religion as otherwise. Gradually recognition was granted and the protection and favor of the law extended to them. Rome absorbed all religions in the same way that it absorbed all foreign races living within its walls. Thus in the history of these religions in Rome we may distinguish two main periods: an early period of either silent toleration or legal opposition, and a later period of protection and favor.

cependant opérante, que les anciennes populations n'ont pas compris ou n'ont pas adopté cette forme nouvelle, plus philosophique peut-être que vraiment religieuse, du vieux paganisme gréco-romain" (Toutain, II, p. 257).

¹² The chapter, 'Les religions étrangères,' in G. Boissier, *La religion Romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*, 6th ed., 1906, I, pp. 324-403, is still very valuable and full of suggestion.

There is no doubt that in the early period those religions in Rome kept their exotic character. Even in the case of the only cult which in republican times was officially introduced into Rome by a decree of the senate, the cult of the Magna Mater of Pessinus, accepted by the Senate in 204 B.C. and established within the pomerium on the Palatine hill, the foreign character of the cult was preserved by special measures. As a matter of fact, the traditional form of the liturgy was entrusted to Phrygian priests, who alone were learned in its complex ceremonial practices. Their liturgy was '*scientia peregrina et externa*,' but since by adoption the Magna Mater had assumed the protection of Rome, there was added to the original form of the cult another, to be practised by the Romans according to the '*mens domestica et civilis*.'¹³ A Roman magistrate therefore at stated times offered sacrifices to the goddess, and Roman '*sodalitates*' celebrated her festival with banquets.

But this official Roman cult of the Magna Mater was an extra-liturgical practice; the traditional and original form of worship was celebrated in secret within the precinct of their temple by Phrygian priests, and its adepts were recruited from that Asiatic population of the city to whom it was a national cult, while the Romans were forbidden by law to join the priesthood of the temple or to hold office in its organization. It is interesting to notice that the governing class of Rome, though the adoption of the Magna Mater was suggested by political and social motives,¹⁴ tried to find a justification for this

¹³ Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 24, 55. H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1912, pp. 25-69; and the suggestive discussion of W. W. Fowler, *Religious Experience*, pp. 314 ff. Also Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, 1912, pp. 63, 317 ff.

¹⁴ The introduction of the cult was the climax of a series of measures taken by the Senate to calm the agitation and fear of the people during Hannibal's invasion of Italy. It seems that the city had fallen prey to a religious hysteria, especially affecting women, among whom the war and the battle of Cannae had made many widows. Men's minds were '*moti in religionem*' (Livy xxi. 62), and they reported many prodigia which increased the fear and panic of the terrified city. It was at that time that the lectisternia, that old Roman ceremonial practice, took new Greek forms, and that couples of Greek and Gallic slaves were sacrificed and the people turned more and more to strange new religious practices. This period, as Wissowa says, marks a turning-point in the history of Roman religion (*Religion and Kultus*, p. 356). How and why the goddess of Pessinus was chosen is difficult to say (Fowler, pp. 318 ff.). Probably the cult was already known,

departure from the religious tradition of the city in the legends already in circulation about the origin of the Roman people from the Trojan fugitives, thus establishing a racial connection between Rome and Asia Minor. The Magna Mater could thus appear as an ancient deity of the ancestors of the Romans; and hence her cult in the Roman form was especially celebrated by the ancient aristocratic families, members of which formed the sodalitates of the goddess. But the original form of the cult, as observed by the native Phrygian priests, was considered unworthy of the Roman people, its rites looked upon with disgust and contempt. The Phrygian priests were not even called 'sacerdotes,' but 'famuli,' and only on stated days were the 'galli' and 'metrargyri' allowed to beg in the city.¹⁵

The Greek deities gradually superseded the old Roman ones, but for the most part through a process of identification, to which no resistance seems to have been made. But whenever a cult not in accord with Roman traditions tried to assume public form or extended itself so widely in secret as to menace the 'mos maiorum,' the state had recourse to the laws of proscription. Such was the incident of the Bacchanalia, the outbreak of Dionysiac orgies in Rome in 186 B.C., introduced, as Livy puts it, by a Greek "sacrificulus et vates," first in Etruria and then in Rome.¹⁶ The matter, as Fowler remarks, was dealt with

having been introduced by Asiatic slaves or merchants, and in this emergency was resorted to by the people. If the passage of Livy (xxv. 1) on the exotic religion which had invaded the city to the point that sacrifices with foreign rites were offered even in the Forum and on the Capitol refers to the cult of the Magna Mater, then it can not be denied that the adoption by the Senate was not only the result of the political calculations of the aristocracy (Pettazzoni, *I Misteri*, Bologna, 1924, p. 121), but also a concession made to the claims of the populace. Perhaps it is right to conclude with Graillot that "en cette affaire la religion secondait admirablement la politique," and that the adoption of the Magna Mater, while satisfying the people, was at the same time a by-product of the political alliance between Rome and Pergamum (p. 50).

¹⁵ What was thought of all the Phrygian servants of the Magna Mater in Rome even by the populace is clearly suggested by Plautus (*Truculentus*, ii. 7, 48), by the anecdote of the priest from Pessinus who came to Rome wearing a diadem and was mobbed by the populace in the Forum (*Diod.* xxxvi. 6; Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, p. 52), and by what is related by Valerius Maximus (vii. 7, 6). A fragment of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae* (*Petronii saturae*, etc. rec. F. Buecheler, ed. 6, cur. G. Heraeus, Berlin, 1922, n. 33-35, p. 198) tells as a joke of passing near the temple and surprising the Galli in the performance of their rites.

¹⁶ xxix. 8.

"entirely by the Senate and the magistrates and not by the authorities of the *ius divinum* (religious authorities). It was dealt with not as a matter of religion merely, but as a conspiracy, *coniuratio*. For it was an attempt to supersede the ancient religious life of the State by an *externa superstitio, prava religio; prava*, because *deorum numen praetenditur sceleribus*, and hence the Roman gods themselves felt their *numen* to be contaminated." ¹⁷

It is no wonder that the cult of Isis also, which seems to have gained a foothold in Rome in the time of Sulla (80 B.C.), met with persecution as soon as it became conspicuous in the city and dared to consecrate its altars on the sacred grounds of the Capitol. The successive attempts to eradicate this cult during the agitated period which followed the *senatusconsultum* of the year 58 B.C., and the repeated destruction of the altars and shrines of Isis in Rome, are well known, but it is interesting to remark that these measures of repression coincide with the laws against all kinds of associations enacted after bloody tumults had been provoked by the mobs which Clodius recruited from the Roman slums and organized into *collegia* for the terrorizing of the government. Cicero expressly says that foreigners were in the great majority among these revolutionary forces,¹⁸ and this is clear also from the incident he relates in connection with the celebration of the *ludi Megalenses* in the year 56. On account of the religious and civic character of these games only Roman citizens were allowed to be present at them, foreigners being rigorously excluded under penalty of sacrilege. Clodius, however, who presided at the games in his capacity of *curule*

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 347. Fowler comments thus on the action of the Senate: "The question was treated as a matter of policy both in Rome and Italy; the guilty were sought out and punished as conspirators against the State, and a precedent of tremendous force was hereby established for all future dealings with *externa superstitio*, which held good even to the last struggle with Christianity" (p. 348).

¹⁸ "An tu populum Romanum esse putas illum qui constat ex iis qui mercede conducuntur . . . ? Multitudinem hominum ex servis, ex conductis, ex facinorosis, ex egen-tibus congregatam" (De domo sua, 33, 89). "Greeks and Jews," says Mommsen, "freedmen and slaves, were in public meetings the most assiduous attendants and the most disturbing agitators. When a vote was taken, those who according to Roman law had the right to vote were a small minority." On the political activities of the *collegia* see Waltzing, *Études sur les corporations prof.*, I, p. 171.

aedile, caused one of his bands suddenly to invade the theatre, creating a tumult which would have ended in a massacre but for the energetic intervention of the consul Lentulus. But the games, Cicero says, were polluted (*polluti sunt*), because the band of Clodius was composed chiefly of foreigners and slaves.¹⁹

Since the cult of Isis is the only one directly attacked by the laws of proscription at this period, it is likely that the Isiac associations had a large part in the troublesome events, and that a good many of the foreigners and slaves organized by Clodius belonged to these fraternities.²⁰ The cult, however, survived the proscriptive laws, and flourished during the last years of the republic. If we were to judge from the few inscriptions which concern the worship of Isis in republican times, we should have no doubt that its adepts were in great majority freedmen and poor people of oriental origin.²¹ But the Roman poetry of the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire shows clearly that the Isiac propaganda was also successful among the native Roman population, especially the women, and that not

¹⁹ De har. resp. 11 ff.

²⁰ It seems that the members of the *collegia Isiaca* even under the empire, when the legislation against every kind of political activity on the part of the associations was very severely enforced, could not refrain from using their religious affiliation for political and especially electoral purposes. In Pompeii, among the inscriptions of electoral recommendations scratched on the walls, we find the following: "Cn. Helvium Sabinum aed <ilem> Isiaci universi rog <ant>," CIL. IV, 787; "Cuspium Pausam aed <ilem> Popidius Natalis cliens cum Isiacis rog <at>," CIL. IV, 1011. They probably belong to Nero's time.

²¹ CIL. VI, 2247. This inscription, which is certainly prior to the demolition of the altar of Isis on the Capitol, mentions many freedmen of aristocratic Roman families, especially of the Caecilii, and among them one 'sacerdos Isidis Capitolinae.' A survey of the Roman inscriptions relating to the cult of Isis and Serapis was made by A. Parissotti, *Ricerche sull' introduzione e sullo sviluppo del culto d'Iside e di Serapide in Roma e nelle provincie dell' impero in relazione all' epigrafia* (Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto), Rome, 1888, pp. 43-55. CIL. VI, 2246, mentions one Usia Prima, daughter of Rabirius Postumus Hermodorus and priestess of Isis. The father was undoubtedly a freedman of Rabirius Postumus, the Roman knight who for a long period was procurator for the king of Egypt and later in Rome was indicted for embezzlement and defended by Cicero. In Rome he had surrounded himself by servants and freedmen brought from Egypt, who were, as it seems, fervent devotees of Isis. See also Lumbroso, *Aneddoti di archeologia alessandrina*, p. 14, and Lafaye, p. 48. Another priest of Isis Capitolina is mentioned in CIL. VI, 2248.

only women of the lower classes but also many ladies of the aristocracy were devotees of the goddess.²²

The reaction against all kinds of Alexandrian influences which followed the battle of Actium made itself felt in the new measures taken by Augustus against the Egyptian cults in Rome, sternly relegating them outside the pomerium (28 B.C.)²³ This measure was part of the general program of restoration of the national religion promoted by Augustus, of whom it is said, "*peregrinarum caeremoniarum sicuti veteres et praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita caeteras contemptu habuit*";²⁴ but so far as concerned the cult of Isis it had only the effect of reviving the enthusiasm of her votaries. During an absence of Augustus from the city (21 B.C.) the followers of Isis provoked a tumult which led Maecenas to enforce yet severer regulations and to banish the cult from all parts of the city, allowing it only in districts one mile beyond the pomerium.

The hostile policy of Augustus was continued by Tiberius, who took the opportunity of a scandal which is said to have occurred in the temple of Isis to proscribe "the Jewish and Egyptian superstitions," to use the words of Tacitus. By a *senatusconsultum* four thousand freedmen, of fighting age and infected with these errors, were deported to Sardinia to repress brigandage; "if they perished on account of the bad climate the loss would not be regretted. To all others the command was given to leave Italy within a certain time, unless they preferred to give up their profane cult."²⁵ Isis and Serapis had thus their martyrs and confessors, such as the two freedmen, Julius Plutius Cassius and L. Attilius Felix Pomptinus, and their families, whose tombs were found in the sepulchral caves near Cagliari.²⁶ The deportation, as happened later with the Chris-

²² Lafaye remarks in regard to them: "*Elles poursuivaient l'originalité en matière de religion comme leurs amants en matière de poésie*" (p. 189).

²³ Dio Cassius, liii. 2.

²⁴ Suetonius, Augustus 93.

²⁵ The well-known anecdote of the Roman lady told by Josephus (*Bello Jud.* xviii. 3) is rather difficult to believe. See Lafaye, pp. 53-55. The statement of Tacitus (*Annales*, ii. 85) and the archaeological discoveries in Sardinia leave no doubt that among the exiles were Isiacs and not merely Jews, as suggested by Suetonius (*Tiberius* 36).

²⁶ CIL. VI, 2279 and Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, n. 547. That these two inscriptions belong to the first century after Christ seems certain to Lafaye (p. 57), but is doubted by others.

tians, gave the devotees the opportunity to make converts in new regions. If this was not the first introduction of their cult into the island (for it seems to have existed there already in an Alexandrian colony), at least these exiles gave it new vigor so that it prospered there and left deep traces.²⁷

With Caligula the cult of Isis, even if it did not, as Mommsen held, obtain official recognition, was undoubtedly the object of imperial favor;²⁸ but it was with Claudius that a really new period began for the oriental cults in Rome. Most of them were already practised by the large foreign groups and had been carrying on an active propaganda; but in accordance with the policy enforced by Augustus their religious rites were performed in private, with the exception of part of the cult of the Magna Mater.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was in Rome in Augustus' time, thus describes the situation:

Among the Romans there are no processions performed in mourning habits, with expressions of sorrow and attended by the plaints and lamentations of women bewailing the disappearance of deities, such as the Greeks carry out in commemorating the rape of Proserpina and the adventures of Bacchus and many other things of the same nature. Nothing is to be seen among them (though their manners are now corrupted) of enthusiastic transports or corybantic frenzies; no begging under the color of religion, no bacchanals or secret mysteries, no promiscuous vigils of men and women in the temples, nor any extravagances of this kind. But all reverence is shown to the gods, both in words and actions, beyond what is practised among either Greeks or barbarians. And (what I admire above all things) notwithstanding the resort of innumerable nations to Rome who all have to worship their own gods according to the custom of their respective countries, the republic has never by public authority adopted any of those foreign institutions — a misfortune into which many other cities have fallen. If, however, pursuant to some oracle, any images of the gods had been brought thither from foreign nations, they honor them according to their own [Roman] rites, banishing all fabulous impostures; and in this manner they worship the image of the Idaean goddess, for in her honor the praetors perform annual sacrifices and celebrate annual games according to the Roman customs. But the priest and priestess of the goddess are Phrygians. These carry her image in procession about the city, asking alms in her name according to their custom and wearing figures upon their breast and striking their cymbals, while their followers play tunes on their flutes. But no one born a Roman is by any law or ordinance of the Senate allowed to walk in procession through the city to the sound of flutes, to ask

²⁷ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1879, pp. 162 ff.

²⁸ *CIL*, I, p. 406. On Caligula see Suetonius, *Caius* 57.

alms, or to be dressed in a parti-colored habit and worship the goddess with Phrygian ceremonies. So fearful are they of admitting any foreign custom in religion, and so great is their aversion to all indecent fables.²⁹

But from the time of Augustus to the reign of Claudius the situation underwent a rapid change. The traditional figure of Claudius handed down to us by the Roman annalists and biographers is that of an irresponsible weakling dominated by his freedmen and his women; but a series of trustworthy documents and recent discoveries throws a much more favorable light on his rule, which appears to have been remarkable for its general policies as well as for its administrative system.³⁰ On the one hand he was a true continuator of Augustus, to whose authority he appeals whenever in his decrees and provisions he finds it necessary to rely on precedent. But on the other hand he seems clearly to understand that the changes of half-a-century of imperial rule and in particular the growing importance of the provinces, not only in the economic and military life of the empire but also in its political and social organization, required a larger participation of the various races in the rights and responsibilities of the Roman commonwealth. From this point of view Claudius' policy appears as a return to the system of Julius Caesar.³¹ One of the most important facts of his reign was the development of the imperial bureaucracy into a system which continued to be the basis of the later more definite organization of the Flavians and the Antonines.³² This bureaucracy played a part in his religious policy.

²⁹ Ant. Rom. ii. 19.

³⁰ Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2nd ed. 1905, pp. 471 ff. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt, 1924*, Introduction to the newly discovered letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines, pp. 21 ff. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 78 ff.

³¹ The concession of citizenship en masse to entire populations began with Claudius (Tac. Ann. xi. 24, and the text of Claudius' speech to the Senate for the citizenship to the Aedui in the bronze tablet of Lyons, A. Allmer, *Musée de Lyon*, n. 12, pp. 58-108). On the grant of the Jewish privileges see below. The return of Claudius to Caesar's policy and hellenistic monarchy affirmed by Kornemann ('Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherculte,' in *Klio*, 1, pp. 50-146) is denied by Bell (p. 22). The truth is, as Rostovtzeff remarks, that under Caius and Claudius, "the structure of the Roman empire came more and more to resemble that of the Hellenistic monarchies" (p. 83), but at the same time there were many fundamental differences which still remained.

³² Hirschfeld, pp. 472 ff.; Rostovtzeff, pp. 78 ff.

Under Claudius the cult of the Magna Mater underwent a deep transformation. To the Julian house, as the offspring of Aeneas, this ancient goddess of Mount Ida assumed the character of an ancestral deity and was the object of special reverence. In the monuments of Augustus she holds an eminent place among the protecting deities of the gens Iulia. Moreover Augustus, who as head of the decemviri had the right to appoint the pair of Phrygian priests for the Phrygian form of the cult in Rome, selected members of his own 'familia urbana' for the office.³³ It seems also that it was in the religious reform of Augustus that these Phrygian priests first assumed the more dignified title of 'sacerdotes' in place of the old disparaging name of 'famuli.'³⁴

No wonder, therefore, that by Claudius a further and more important grant was made to the cult. It was the only cult legally introduced by the Senate, and the Phrygian goddess as a present numen had protected the city for several centuries; furthermore she was an ancestral deity of the imperial house. Now the official recognition of the cult, which had previously covered only the Graeco-Roman form, was extended also to the Phrygian observance; the mysteries of Attis began to be celebrated in public, and were made accessible to Roman citizens. At least in part this grant was probably due to the influence of Phrygian and Asiatic freedmen and slaves of the imperial house. The best slaves from the vast possessions of the emperors in Phrygia and Asia were sent to the court by the Roman procurators and filled the imperial residence on the Palatine.³⁵ Some of them held important offices in the imperial bureaucracy, and others, especially during the last years of Claudius, exercised an enormous influence in the government: they were the power

³³ For instance, CIL. VI, 496, "Onesimus Olympias Livia Briseis Aug(usti) Lib(erti) Sac(erdotes) M(atris) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae)."

³⁴ This change of title is commonly attributed to the reform of Claudius, but it seems more probable that it took place under Augustus, when freedmen of his own house were put at the head of the cult. Graillet, p. 114. It seems also that Augustus increased the number of the priests of the Magna Mater. The texts concerning the mysteries are collected by N. Turchi, *Fontes Historiae Mysteriorum Aevi Hellenistici*, Rome, 1923, pp. 217 ff.

³⁵ Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, pp. 172 ff.; Chapot, *Province romaine d'Asie*, 1904, pp. 373-381; Graillet, pp. 115 ff.

behind the throne.³⁶ And the presence in the Roman population of large numbers of Asiatics must beyond doubt have given to the reform the character of a concession to the people which would be welcomed with enthusiasm.³⁷

Yet at the same time this grant, which was a departure from tradition, could not fail to create a precedent and to mark a turning-point in the religious policy of the government. There were sound motives behind it. In spite of all repressive measures, and of the Augustan revival of the ancient Roman rites, the oriental cults had gained a firm foothold in Rome and were a real power in the life of the masses. To ignore them officially was to let them develop and spread without public control, a bad policy for a government so suspicious of all associations. Since to suppress them through legislation or violence was well-nigh impossible, and in any case undesirable because, as we shall see later, all these cults recognized the official worship of the Capitol and of the emperors, it seemed better and safer to bring them entirely within the law, rather than let them live by toleration or privilege. So Rome, the capital and centre of the political world, was bound to become also the capital and spiritual centre of all the popular religions of the empire. The grant of Claudius thus assumes a high political significance and historical importance.

The legalization of the Phrygian form of worship, so that even Romans could take part in the mysteries of Attis, involved an attempt to adapt it to certain social and religious standards of the Roman tradition. As a matter of fact, of all the oriental cults that of the Magna Mater appears to have felt the influence of the environment most strongly and to have tried hard-

³⁶ As for instance Halotus, 'praegustator' of the imperial table, mentioned by Suetonius, and Posides, whom Claudius trusted above all others (Suet., Claudius, 28; Tacitus, Ann. xi. 15).

³⁷ The large group of Phrygians in the capital, especially slaves, found their cult already in existence there, and among them were recruited the "Galli fanatici" of whom Livy speaks (xxxvii. 9, 9). Toward the year 100 B.C. we find it mentioned that a "servus Servilii Caepionis Matri Idaeae se praecidit et trans mare exportatus est." In the year 77 B.C. a freedman of the house of the Genucii was gallus of the cult (Val. Max. vii. 7, 6). Thus the ascent of the Phrygian cult was from the lowest social strata. Pettazzoni, *I Misteri*, p. 124.

est to romanize itself so far as that was possible. First of all, the reform of Claudius reduced the barbaric character of the mysteries of Attis, already celebrated in a softened hellenized form. Further mitigations were introduced, very important being that regarding the priesthood, previously forbidden to the Romans on account especially of the emasculation required of the galli. Romans were now allowed to accept the priesthood of the Magna Mater and Attis without the sacrifice of their virility, offering to the god, instead of their own, the genitalia of the bull killed in sacrifice.³⁸ Through this vicarious offering it became possible for Roman citizens to be appointed archigalli, and so to lead the Metroac cult in Rome as well as in the municipia and colonies. The quindecimviri assumed the supreme control of the cult, of its priesthood, its public celebrations, and the associations connected with it. Rome was now officially the great centre of the Phrygian religion.³⁹

Before the reform of Claudius sodalitates of Roman citizens celebrated the festival of the goddess with banquets, while associations of cultores composed of freedmen, slaves, and foreign craftsmen of oriental origin took part in the cult and in the modest procession described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But after the reform the sodalitates entirely changed their character; the foreign associations were converted into recognized religious bodies having a definite function in the public cult and in the cycle of ceremonies which were observed from March 15 to March 27. The various episodes of the old mystic

³⁸ No trace of prohibition is found after Claudius. The *sacerdos Phrygius maximus* (CIL. VI, 502, 2257) officially assumes even the ancient title of Attis ("Attis populi Romani," CIL. VI, 2183).

³⁹ The appointment of the ordinary priests of the cult in the municipia was made by the municipal senate, but needed the confirmation of the quindecimviri (CIL. X, 3698, concerning the priest of Cuma; see Turchi, *Le Religioni misteriosofiche*, 1923, p. 137). "Rome remplaçait Pessinonte comme capital de la religion phrygienne. À vrai dire, le rôle historique de Pessinonte est terminé. La dignité des Attis n'est plus qu'un bénéfice ecclésiastique, réparti entre les membres d'un sacré collège. Les XVviri, par une conséquence imprévues, mais logique, de leurs attributions, se sont substitués aux Attis comme chefs suprêmes de cette religion. Mais, à Pessinonte, ces chefs étaient prêtres encore plus que rois et siégeaient dans un temple. À Rome, ils sont fonctionnaires encore plus que prêtres et siègent dans les bureaux d'une administration impériale" (Graillot, p. 144).

drama of Attis were now acted in public, and the dendrophori, cannophori, cernophori, the apparitores and the ballatores Cybelae, had each a definite task in the ceremonial performances, together with the hymnologoi, tympanistriae, and cymbalistriae, in coöperation with the galli and the high priesthood of the cult. As Cumont remarks, through this new organization the cult "was not subjected to arbitrary police measures, nor to coercion on the part of the magistrates; its fraternities were not continually threatened with dissolution, nor its priests with expulsion. It was publicly authorized and endowed, its holy days were marked in the calendars of the pontiffs, its associations of dendrophori were organs of municipal life in Italy and in the provinces and had a corporate entity."⁴⁰

What we know concerning the associations of dendrophori is very significant. These associations, which were so prominent in the celebration of the mysteries in Rome and elsewhere in the post-claudian period, appear with a double character — as religious fraternities having charge of the sacred ceremonies of the day 'arbor intrat' in the festival, and as professional collegia of woodcutters or carpenters who in certain places acted also as firemen. It seems probable that at least in Rome an ancient college of lignarii was absorbed by the dendrophori. This shows that the associations connected with the cult of the Magna Mater, now that their status was changed, increased their tendency to identify themselves with some Roman tradition and institution.⁴¹ The same tendency is manifest in a cere-

⁴⁰ *Oriental Religions*, p. 60. The influence of Rome in the spread of the Phrygian religion is attested by the fact that in various western cities the place of the temple of the cult used for the initiation rites was called Vaticanus in imitation of the famous temple on the mons Vaticanus in Rome, in the same way that the 'capitolia' of the provinces derived their name from the Roman Capitolium. Inscription of Lyons of 160 A.D., CIL. XIII, 1751: for Moguntia, see Turchi, *Fontes*, p. 152. Frazer, *Attis and Osiris*, chap. I, 7.

⁴¹ There has been much discussion of this double character of the dendrophori, but the opinion formerly accepted that two different collegia existed under that name, one of which was a religious fraternity for the cult of the Magna Mater and the other a professional collegium, has been discarded as a result of the conclusions reached by Waltzing, who has demonstrated (I, pp. 240-255) the existence of dendrophoriae in sixty-five cities scattered in various provinces of the empire, all of them appearing with the double character of religious and professional associations. The oldest document in which the dendrophori are mentioned belongs to the year 79 A.D. (CIL. X, 7, inscription of Regium

mony which appears at least in the second century, the offering of taurobolia for the glory of Rome and the safety of the emperor. The cult of the Magna Mater, borrowing the civic spirit proper to Roman religion, made of the official taurobolium a manifestation of loyalty to the institutions of the empire.⁴² In the same way, through a contamination of traditions, the 'dies violae' became for the Romans a day consecrated to the commemoration of the dead and the 'hilaria' a real carnival with wild merry-making and wanton masquerades.

All these changes in the Phrygian religion, however, could not accomplish the impossible task of making that kind of a religion into a true Roman institution. The genuine Roman tradition was altogether refractory to its spirit. As a matter of fact the aristocracy of Rome, which formerly had taken an important part in the Roman form of the cult, now gives way to the lower classes and foreigners. The festival of the Magna Mater and Attis became a festival of the plebs and of slaves.⁴³

Julium); but in Rome the earliest mention is found for the year 97 A.D. (CIL. VI, 642), if the reconstruction of the fragmentary inscription proposed by Mommsen is to be accepted (Visconti, Ann. Istit. Corr. Archeologica, 1860, p. 449). Wissowa, in accordance with his general theory, rejects the proposed interpretations of both inscriptions, and assigns the organization of the dendrophoriae to the end of the second century (Religion und Kultus, p. 322), but he has not found many followers. See Aurigemma, art. 'Dendrophori' in De Ruggero, Dizion. Epigr., II, 2, 1671-1704. Among the Metroac collegia, that of the 'sodales ballatores Cybelae' (CIL. VI, 2265) is to be noticed. It seems that they were attached to the temple of the Magna Mater, and were 'galli' forming a special college. A schola of dendrophori was on the Coelian next to the Basilica Hilariana; Graillot, p. 388.

⁴² On the origin of the taurobolium and the criobolium of the religion of Cybele, see the long discussion of Graillot, pp. 150 ff., and Cumont, pp. 66 ff. The only emperor who submitted to this rite was Elagabalus, who "Matris deum sacra accepit et tauroboliatus est" (Lampridius, Elag. 7, 1), and the first inscription referring to it is as late as 295 A.D. (CIL. VI, 509). It seems that originally the rite was celebrated as a propitiatory offering for the benefit of individuals or of a community, but in late documents it appears as a rite of a strictly personal character and having a deep mystic value. Which was the original form is doubtful. Pettazzoni's opinion (p. 134) that the taurobolium was first a mystical rite celebrated in the secret worship of the temple, and only later, when the worship became public, assumed its civic character, is plausible, but, as Graillot remarks (p. 164), it is more probable that in the Phrygian groups of Rome whose cult was controlled by imperial freedmen 'taurobolia pro salute principis' were offered even before the official institution of this rite. During the last period of the reign of Antoninus Pius taurobolia for the emperor were common in the provinces and the Vaticanus was already considered as the sacred hill of the Metroac cult.

⁴³ The genuine Roman tradition had only scorn for the barbaric features of the cult. The language of Juvenal (9, 23 ff.) and of such representatives of the hellenistic spirit

It is true that under the Flavian emperors and still more under the Antonines the favor of the government toward the cult was conspicuous, and probably even empresses, as the numismatic evidence suggests, were initiated.⁴⁴ But this was due on the one hand to the fact that "feminine devotion in particular found encouragement and enjoyment in these ceremonies, and the Great Mother, the fecund and generous goddess, was always especially worshipped by women";⁴⁵ and on the other hand to the fact that this cult became more and more the centre of attraction of all other cults, which sought protection in its alliance, and so afforded a good ground for that final pagan syncretism which in the fourth century fought and lost the battle against Christianity.⁴⁶ In that period, and especially in the pagan revival of Julian the Apostate, the Roman aristocracy appears again leading the Metroac cult.⁴⁷ But by that time the Phrygian cult had become a new religion which included various elements combined under neo-platonic inspiration. It had become "the traditional mould into which subtle exegetes boldly poured their philosophic speculations on the creative and stimulating forces that were the principles of all material forms, and on the deliverance of the divine soul submerged in the corruption of this terrestrial world."⁴⁸

In the early centuries of the empire, however, or at least as long as it kept its individuality, the Phrygian cult was roman-

as Lucian and Plutarch shows that Attis and his mysteries had no attraction for people of culture and refinement. Even in the second century the dendrophoriae were called festivals of slaves by Artemidoros (*Oneirocritica* ii. 37). The priesthood continued to be recruited from the *liberti* of the imperial house under Claudius and long afterwards (CIL. VI, 2260; Waltzing, III, n. 1377; Graillot, pp. 142 ff.).

⁴⁴ Graillot, pp. 151 ff.

⁴⁵ Cumont, p. 59. For the part played by women in this cult see also Graillot, pp. 146 ff.

⁴⁶ The interchange of influence between the various foreign cults and that of the Phrygian goddess is discussed in detail by Cumont, pp. 60 ff.

⁴⁷ There is a whole group of inscriptions (CIL. VI, 497-513), all belonging to the fourth century, in which 'clarissimi viri' and 'clarissimae feminae' appear as holders of the highest places in the cult and among the 'taurobolati.' Pettazzoni remarks: "The highest and most conservative class became the representatives of pagan culture and tradition, and as such the stronghold which opposed the most obstinate resistance to the triumph of Christianity and kept alive the pagan spirit, which was to be found only in the mysteries" (p. 137).

⁴⁸ Cumont, p. 70.

ized only in so far as it mitigated some of its barbaric ceremonies and tried to assume a civic significance and connect itself with Roman traditions. It neither superseded the official cults nor affected the spirit of Roman political and juridical institutions.

The religion of Isis, which in spite of the hellenistic forms it assumed under the Ptolemies met in Rome with a strong opposition, and, as we have already seen, even under Augustus and Tiberius suffered persecutions, finally obtained recognition either under Caligula, who is said to have caused the Isiac temple of the Campus Martius to be built, or more probably under Nero.⁴⁹ There is no doubt that the anti-alexandrian policy of Augustus was discarded by the last emperors of his house, and that the influence of the refined culture represented by hellenistic Alexandria regained its ascendancy in Rome; abundant evidence of such influence is to be found in Roman art and literature of this period. From Caligula to the Flavii, and still more under the Antonines, the cult of Isis and the Egyptian gods gained more and more in favor with the emperors.⁵⁰ Hadrian, the most hellenistic emperor of the Antonines, connected with Serapis the new cult of his favorite Antinous, if it is true that the *Templum Boni Eventus* in the precinct of the Serapeum was consecrated to the memory of the favorite under the title of *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*.⁵¹ With Caracalla,

⁴⁹ For the hellenization of the cult see Cumont, pp. 77 ff., and bibliography in notes, pp. 228 ff.; also G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 351 ff. In general the temple of the Campus Martius is attributed to Caligula, but it seems that an Isiac shrine was in existence there in Caesar's time (Parisotti, p. 46). The texts concerning the cults of Isis and Serapis, in N. Turchi, *Fontes Historiae Mysteriorum Aevi Hellenistici*, Rome, 1923, pp. 137 ff.

⁵⁰ Domitian, who during the civil war saved his life by disguising himself as a priest of Isis, when he became emperor rebuilt with new splendor the Iseum of the Campus Martius after it had been destroyed by fire. Suet., *Domitian* 1; Lafaye, pp. 200-204.

⁵¹ CIL. XIV, 960. Lafaye, p. 225. Lampridius (*Hist. Aug.*, *Comm.* 9) says that Commodus "practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis. . . . He forced the devotees of Isis to beat their breasts with pine-cones to the point of death. While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue." The truth of this statement is subject to caution, but if it can be accepted, then the Isiac fervor of Commodus was a mere affectation and a joke. His large tolerance toward religions, Christianity not excepted, may have been the result not of mere personal indifference but also of political calculation.

who built the Isiac temple on the Quirinal and probably another on the Coelian, the Egyptian cult was practically put on a footing of equality with the official cults.⁵² The third century witnessed the greatest expansion both in Rome and in the western provinces of the cult of Isis and Serapis.⁵³ In spite of the competition of other cults and the tendency of all of them to merge into a syncretistic form, the Isiac religion kept its individuality more than all others, and as late as the end of the fourth century Isiac processions could still be seen on the streets of Rome.⁵⁴ It was, or at least it became, a complex religion with a wealth of mythological, philosophical, and eschatological elements which, though never systematized and brought into agreement, yet offered to all classes of believers something which their religious aspirations craved. The Isiac religion proved to be a centre of attraction for the most different tendencies of religious experience and thought, and to possess an almost unlimited capacity of absorbing elements from other religions and lending its own to them.⁵⁵

Another and important reason for its vitality and for the success of its propaganda was its organization. Among all the oriental cults which invaded Rome and the West the religion of Isis and Serapis was the only one which possessed a highly developed hierarchical organization that offers some similarity to that of Christianity. There were fundamental differences, but at least in external appearances the Isiac religion formed what we should call a Church, even if the connection was not so close among the various Isiac congregations of the Roman world and they were not governed by fixed rules and traditions as was the case in Christianity. But of this later.

How far the triumph of the Isiac religion in Rome was due to the influence and activities of the Alexandrians and Egyptians

⁵² CIL. VI, 354. Spartianus, Caracalla 9-10; Lafaye, p. 62, n. 3.

⁵³ Toutain, II, pp. 17 ff. Drexler, *Der Kultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern* (Mythologische Beiträge, I), Leipzig, 1890.

⁵⁴ Cumont, p. 85, and p. 232 n. 31.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 87 ff.; "The religion of Isis did not gain a hold on the soul by its dogmatism. Owing to its extreme flexibility this religion was easily adapted to the various centres to which it was transferred, and it enjoyed the valuable advantage of being always in perfect harmony with the prevailing philosophy" (p. 88).

who had settled in Rome is difficult to state; but there is considerable circumstantial evidence that these played a part of capital importance not only in the introduction of the cult, as we have already seen, but also throughout its whole history in Rome. Lafaye has collected a series of facts which have a bearing on this point. One of Nero's teachers was Chaeremon of Naucratis, who had been director of the library of Alexandria and was the author of many books on Egypt and especially of a theological treatise on Isis and Serapis, later commented on by Porphyry.⁵⁶ Dionysius of Alexandria, a pupil of Chaeremon, was director of libraries in Rome and head of the bureau for imperial correspondence from Nero to Trajan.⁵⁷ The famous Crispinus, Domitian's favorite, scourged by Juvenal and so much flattered by Martial, was also an Egyptian, a former "slave from Canopus."⁵⁸ These and other instances of Alexandrians and Egyptians who rose to power and authority in imperial circles, as well as the activities of famous men of letters, scientists, physicians, and astrologers who from the banks of the Nile felt the call of Rome and settled there at least for a time, show that the Isiac religion had representatives and propagandists in Rome not only from the lower classes of immigrants, from tradesmen and slaves, but also from the learned classes, which represented the great traditions of Egyptian culture and civilization and were the teachers of the sacred wisdom so venerable for its remote antiquity and so celebrated by Greeks and Romans alike.⁵⁹

The study of the Roman inscriptions relating to the cult of Isis and Serapis reveals also that even in the period of its greatest expansion the priesthood, the custody of the sacred objects in the temples, and the associations grouped around the temples

⁵⁶ Porphyry, *De abst.* 4, 6, in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evang.* iii. 4; v. 10; *Bull. de corr. hell.* 1877, pp. 123-127; Turchi, *Fontes*, pp. 168 ff. n. 223; Lafaye, pp. 158 ff.

⁵⁷ M. Bang, 'Die Beamten A Libellis,' in Friedländer, IV, p. 38.

⁵⁸ *Juv.* 1, 26-27, "pars Niliacae plebis . . . verna Canopi"; also 4, 1-33, 106-109. *Martial*, vii. 99; viii. 40.

⁵⁹ In the list of imperial officers 'A Rationibus,' 'A Libellis,' 'Ab Epistulis' drawn up by Bang (Friedländer, IV, pp. 26 ff.), mostly freedmen of the imperial house, names with Egyptian flavor are not lacking, but the names alone, especially in the case of freedmen, are not sufficient evidence of nationality.

were mostly in the hands of Alexandrians and Egyptians.⁶⁰ The hellenistic Isiac cult, though it made use of the Greek language, remained essentially an Egyptian cult and kept its traditional rites and ceremonies. Some of them were public and consisted in ordinary daily performances, like the opening of the shrine and the toilette of the gods, and in certain extraordinary ceremonies at the periodical festivals. But there were also the secret ceremonies of the mysteries and initiations, of which we know but little. It is obvious that the Isiac priesthood could be open only to persons familiar with the complicated ceremonial rules and with the ancient traditions of the mysteries kept with jealous secrecy away from the eyes of the great public.⁶¹ This explains why native Egyptians were preferred for the important offices of the cult, but it is remarkable that even the membership of the few collegia related to the Isiac cult mentioned in inscriptions appears to consist mainly of immigrants from the regions of the Nile. Of the college of the Pae-anistae it is explicitly stated that the members were Alexandrians,⁶² and in other colleges we very rarely find Roman names even of tradesmen and plebeians. Waltzing remarks that although "during the first two centuries of the empire the oriental deities invaded Rome, and their adepts formed there special colleges, yet it seems that they did not recruit many members among the artisans."⁶³ Even the names on the sepulchral slabs of the devotees who invoke Osiris or on votive tablets are with few exceptions those of persons of foreign and oriental origin. When Roman names appear, they are either persons having an official position in the public administration or, more frequently, the names of women. Aside from the presence of the official class, the religion of Isis in Rome appears from the inscriptions as a religion of immigrants, slaves, freedmen, and women.

⁶⁰ The same thing is found at Ostia and Portus, where the Isiacs were numerous. See, for instance, the inscription of Flavius Moschilus (CIL. XIV, 352), that of Aurelius Eron (CIG. 5973), and that of the ἐπιμελετής παντός τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρίνου στόλου (CIG. XIV, 917). Parisotti, p. 50.

⁶¹ In the narrative of Apuleius the priest gives his instructions to Lucius from a book written in hieroglyphics, Met. xi. 22.

⁶² CIG. 5898, of the year 146 A.D.

⁶³ Waltzing, I, p. 205. Among the small number of inscriptions of cultores we find a "sodalitium vernarum Isidis."

But this epigraphic evidence is in strong contrast with the evidence which we gather from the historical and literary sources of the time. From these it appears that the cult of Isis and Serapis was largely spread not only among the oriental population of Rome but also among other classes. The contradiction, however, is more apparent than real, for on the one hand the great popularity of the Isiac religion, due to various causes and so well illustrated by Cumont,⁶⁴ explains the sweeping generalizations of the writers, and on the other hand the cosmopolitan character assumed by the population of Rome must have made it difficult even at the time to draw a racial line among the devotees of the Egyptian gods. But after all it is of little consequence whether these devotees were recruited only from certain races and classes or from all races and classes. The important problem is whether, or how far, the Isiac religion was romanized and what part it played in the Roman institutional tradition.

The 'Octavius' of Minucius Felix throws some light on this problem.⁶⁵ Caecilius Natalis, a Roman lawyer from Cirta in Africa, where his family was prominent, walking along the seashore at Ostia with his friends Octavius and Minucius himself, both Africans and lawyers, as he passes before an image of Serapis salutes the god with the customary kiss. A discussion arises between him and Octavius, who is a Christian. Caecilius held that it is "more reverent and better to accept the teaching of your ancestors, to cultivate the religions handed down to you, to adore the gods whom you were first trained by your parents to fear."⁶⁶ Octavius objects that the Isiac rites were originally foreign and only recently had been adopted by Rome ("Aegyptia quondam nunc et sacra Romana sunt"),⁶⁷ but

⁶⁴ Cumont, pp. 86 ff. For the part played by women in the priesthood and worship not only of Isis but of all other foreign deities and cults, see Boissier, I, pp. 359 ff.

⁶⁵ That the Octavius belongs to the end of the second century is now the prevalent opinion, although the Tertullian-Minucius question is periodically revived. F. Ramorino, *L'Apologetico di Tertulliano e l'Ottavio di Minucio*, Atti d. Cong. scienze stor. Roma, 1903, pp. 143-178; Waltzing, *Studia Minuciana*, pp. 53-70 and his edition of the Octavius (Bruges, 1909, pp. xxii-xxxv); Schanz, III, 2, pp. 274 ff.

⁶⁶ c. 6.

⁶⁷ c. 21.

Caecilius had already explained that those foreign deities, by allowing Rome to conquer the natives protected by them, had embraced the Roman cause and had acquired a right to be worshipped also by the Romans. Caecilius thus holds that the Isiac religion could be considered as a Roman religion, and justifies such an adoption by a religio-political motive which applied equally to all foreign cults adopted by the Romans.

On the other hand, to Octavius's reproach that the kissing of Serapis was an act of "blindness of vulgar ignorance,"⁶⁸ Caecilius retorts that the Christians themselves were ignorant people of the lower classes, but does not try to justify his pious gesture by a direct refutation of the remark that the cult of Serapis was practised primarily by the ignorant 'vulgus.' The dialogue, though written by a Christian and with apologetic purpose, may be considered as fairly representing the current opinion at about the end of the second century among people of culture like these three African lawyers in Rome. It conveys the impression that even those more favorably disposed toward the Egyptian cults were fully aware that they had to do with a religion foreign to the Roman tradition, adopted only for practical reasons and political expediency; they did not even deny that it was a religion fitted for the ignorant masses and not for men like Caecilius — they were legion in Rome — who held that nothing can be known with certainty and that "either an uncertain truth is hidden from us and kept back or else fortune unrestrained by law is ruling over us."⁶⁹ And it is strange that Caecilius did not realize that by establishing as a fundamental criterion of religious choice the acceptance of the gods of the fathers he offered an argument against the cult of Serapis,⁷⁰ and that the political justification of its adoption could not satisfy a philosophically minded opponent. Of course in a dialogue written by a Christian we are not surprised by the weakness of the argument of Caecilius, but on this point any pagan writer would have found it difficult to find a stronger one.

⁶⁸ c. 3.

⁶⁹ "Aut incerta nobis veritas occultatur et premitur aut, quod magis credendum est, variis et lubricis casibus soluta legibus fortuna dominatur" (c. 5).

⁷⁰ Lafaye, p. 166.

The cult of Isis and Serapis, no matter how popular it became in Rome, was never truly romanized; as Cumont remarks, "the Alexandrian worship did not become Latinized, but its oriental character became more and more pronounced. . . . The Latin worship always endeavored to imitate the art of the temples in the Nile valley more closely than did the Greeks."⁷¹

But the fact that official recognition had been bestowed upon it, that its festivals were inserted in the Roman calendar, and still more the large following of this religion among the cosmopolitan population of Rome made the city the great centre of the Isiac religion, not inferior to Alexandria itself. It is to Rome that Lucius, the fervid convert of Apuleius's romance, goes to receive his final and complete initiation. "*Deae potentis instinctu . . . nave conscensa, Romam versus profectionem dirigo . . . vesperaque quam dies insequabatur Iduum Decembrium istam sanctam civitatem accedo.*"⁷² Toward Rome, where the Egyptian gods had splendid temples and shrines, patronized by the emperors, served by numerous priests and officials and Isiac societies, and worshipped by a motley throng of foreigners, slaves, and freedmen, as well as by ladies of the old and new Roman aristocracy, the eyes of all devotees of the goddess throughout the empire were turned. The Isiac gospel of salvation, carried by merchants, soldiers, and slaves into the western provinces, received now a new impulse from Rome, and was regularly organized in the municipia and colonies of Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the Danubian lands. Alexandria, the holiest city of the cult, where Serapis had received his new consecration, no doubt retained its mystical fascination and its spiritual influence on the devotees, but since it was the Roman sanction that assigned an official place to the cult among the outstanding

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 86 ff.: "Domitian transferred from the valley of the Nile sphinxes, cynocephali, and obelisks of black or pink granite bearing borders of hieroglyphics of Amasis, Nectanebos, or even Rameses II. Hadrian caused the luxuries of Canopus to be reproduced in his villa at Tibur to enable him to celebrate his voluptuous feasts under the friendly eyes of Serapis. He extolled the merits of the deified Antinous in inscriptions couched in the ancient language of the Pharaohs, and set the fashion of statues hewn out of black basalt in the Egyptian style. Those esthetic manifestations probably corresponded to religious prejudices."

⁷² *Metamorph.* xi. 26.

religions of the empire, and since it was in Rome that the universal character of the cult more conspicuously appeared, it was natural that the centre of the Isiac religion should move from Alexandria to the banks of the Tiber.

This tendency to concentrate the religious influence and power of the cults in the capital, which was the unavoidable consequence of the government's policy of keeping all religions in close subordination to the political power and was also the result of the racial mixture in the city, perhaps receives some light from the inscription of Lucius Julius Vestinus found on the Via Ostiensis.⁷³ This Roman citizen held very important positions in the imperial court under Hadrian: he was director of the Museum and of the Greek and Latin libraries of Rome, in succession, it would seem, to Dionysius of Alexandria, and in addition he appears with the title of "summus pontifex" of Alexandria and of all Egypt.⁷⁴ Was this a simple honorary title, conferred on him by the Alexandrians to gain the favor of so influential an official, holding the position which from Nero to Trajan had been held by great Alexandrian scholars like Chaeremon and Dionysius? It is not impossible. But it is also possible that Hadrian, who departed from the conservative religious policy of Trajan and was so fond of Alexandrian culture and religious traditions as to crowd even his Villa Tiburtina with statues and images of the Egyptian gods, thought it advisable for reasons either political or sentimental to entrust to a high officer of his court the supreme office of the Egyptian religion. Be that as it may, the fact that in the second century the "summus pontifex" of Alexandria and Egypt, who thus held, even if only as a title of honor, the highest office of the Isiac hierarchy,

⁷³ CIG. XIV, 1085; and IGRR. I, 136.

⁷⁴ ἐπιστάτη τοῦ μουσείου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοθηκῶν Ῥωμαικῶν τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἐπιστολεῖ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορος . . . ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης. M. Bang in Friedländer, IV, p. 40. There is little doubt that L. J. Vestinus belonged to the Roman aristocracy. An ancestor of his of the same name born in Vienne (Gaul) and member of the equestrian order, appears among the "friends" of the Emperor Claudius (CIL. XIII, 1668). Later, under Nero (IGRR. I, 1374, 1379), he was prefect of Egypt after T. C. Balbillus (the astrologer? see above, p. 276 and note 73). This connection of the family with Egypt from the middle of the first century is significant (M. Bang, 'Die Freunde und Begleiter der Kaiser,' in Friedländer, IV, p. 65).

had his residence in Rome and at the court of Caesar, may have a special significance in the history of the Egyptian cults in Rome and in the empire.

In strong competition with the Egyptian gods, the gods of Syria began in the second century to gain ground in Rome. As Cumont remarks, "the religions of Syria never had the same solidarity in the Occident as those from Egypt and Asia Minor." They came in at various periods, and "existed side by side in the Roman world without uniting in spite of their similarity. The isolation in which they remained and the persistent adherence of their believers to their particular rites were a consequence of the disunited condition of Syria herself, where the different tribes and districts remained more distinct than anywhere else, even after they had been brought together under the domination of the Romans. They doggedly preserved their local gods and Semitic dialects."⁷⁵ The goddess Atargatis, who had her most famous temple at Hierapolis, seems to have been the first Syrian deity to be worshipped in Rome and in Italy during republican times. Her devotees were mostly Syrian slaves, many of whom were employed in rural work and scattered in the fields. Small bands of itinerant priests of the goddess, described by Lucian and Apuleius as charlatans and thieves, periodically visited their settlements and kept alive their faith in the national deity.⁷⁶

Through their ability in divination, it would seem, they began about the end of the republic to enjoy a certain consideration in Rome. The incoming of Syrian slaves in larger numbers and the progressive invasion of the western markets by enterprising Syrian merchants ever since the beginning of the empire gave to their gods also a better standing in the city and in the western provinces. On the other hand the similarity in function between Atargatis (*Dea Suria*), a goddess of fertility, and the *Magna Mater* and the Phoenician *Astarte*, with the latter of

⁷⁵ Or. Rel., p. 103. In this treatment of the Syrian religions I have largely drawn from the chapter on Syria of this book.

⁷⁶ Lucian, *Lucius* 53 ff.; Apuleius, *Metam.* viii. 24 ff. See Cumont, p. 241, note 1. Turchi, *Fontes*, pp. 261 ff., and texts concerning the *Dea Suria*, pp. 265 ff.

whom she was often confused, made less objectionable the introduction of these new cults into the Roman world. Their original savage rites had been softened in a hellenistic environment, and in this half-hellenized form the mysteries of Tammuz-Adonis and Astarte, as well as the special cults of such deities as Balmarcodes of Beirut, Marna of Gaza, and the marine god Maiuma, were practised by Syrian groups in Rome and elsewhere, especially in the seaports with their large representation of Syrians.⁷⁷

With the exception of the myth of Adonis, which in its hellenistic form became a part of Greek mythology and was much used by Roman poets, the other gods seem for a long time to have roused no interest among the Romans.⁷⁸ When under Vespasian the hinterland of Syria was conquered by the Romans and the region between the Taurus and the Euphrates (Com-magene) became a Roman province, and when later Palmyra and the province of Arabia were secured by Trajan (106 A.D.), a new influx of Syrian divinities from these countries superficially hellenized gave a new impetus to the Syrian religions in the West.

The Baals of Damascus, of Heliopolis, of Doliche, and of Palmyra came to the West and to Rome, and assumed the title of Jupiter Optimus Maximus which belonged to Jupiter Capitolinus. But their assimilation to the god of the Capitol was only superficial, and their cults as well as the cults of other Syrian deities connected with them retained in Rome their foreign character even more than did the cults of other foreign deities. Under the half-syrian Severian dynasty they enjoyed the special favor and protection of the court, and for a short period under Elagabalus the Baal of Emesa had a chance of

⁷⁷ The Maiuma festival was celebrated with great pomp at Ostia (Lydus, *De mensibus*, ed. Wünsch, pp. 133 ff., and Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'archéologie orientale*, IV, pp. 339 ff.), where also it seems that there was a temple of Marnas, or Marneum (CIG. 5892).

⁷⁸ The cult of Adonis was never officially practised in Rome and is scarcely represented by inscriptions of the western provinces. The "ambubaiarum collegia" mentioned by Horace (*Sat.* i. 2, 1) may have been connected with this cult if the etymology of the word from the Syriac 'ambub,' or 'abub,' 'flute,' or from 'Αβώβας (another name of Adonis) is sound (Petazzoni, *I Misteri*, p. 218).

becoming the supreme if not the only god of Rome and of the empire. The presence of large and influential groups of Syrians in Rome, and much more the special imperial protection and religious fervor of the powerful and daring Syrian princesses Julia Domna, Julia Moesa, and Julia Mamaea, made of Rome the new centre of propaganda of the Syrian cults. Functionaries of all kinds, senators and officials, vied with one another in devotion to the patron gods of their sovereigns.

But to conclude from these facts that the Syrian cults underwent a process of romanization, and that as such they played an important part in the Roman religious consciousness, would be a mistake. Their influence upon the religious life of Rome was indirect, as we shall see later, but in themselves, as definite cults of specific deities, they remained extraneous to the Roman tradition and lived, so to speak, on the margin of Roman religious experience.

As we have noticed, the adepts of these cults in the western provinces appear from the inscriptions to have been either Syrian and oriental merchants, freedmen, and slaves, or soldiers, either native from Syria or of legions which had lived for years in Syrian military posts, or else functionaries and imperial officers who paid homage to the gods of the hour. In Puteoli, where these cults left important traces, we find mention of the cult of Jupiter Damascenus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The name of M. Nemonius Eutyechianus, to whom a tablet is dedicated "iussu Iovis Optimi Maximi Damasceni," suggests the oriental origin of the person concerned and of the priests of the cult.⁷⁹ The inscription concerning Jupiter Heliopolitanus is more explicit, since the dedication in honor of the emperor Trajan is made by the "cultores Jovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt."⁸⁰ The god of Heliopolis was thus the patron god of the colony from Beirut having a statio in Puteoli.

⁷⁹ CIL. X, 1576.

⁸⁰ CIL. X, 1634, of 116 A.D. Also CIL. X, 1578, in which the "sacerdotes et luco-phori" of the "tempuli Geremellensium" (dubious reading) dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus mention that A. Tileodorus, son of the curator of the temple, offered some gifts to the shrine. The tablet is made "curante Acilio Secundo Trotomias." Evidently this was a Syrian group having a statio and a shrine of the god. Dubois, Pouzzoles antique, p. 98.

They formed an association, "corpus Heliopolitanorum," to carry on their national cult ⁸¹

I have already spoken of the temples of the Syrian gods in Rome and of their location. The inscriptions relating to these cults found in Rome present the same characteristics as those found elsewhere in the western provinces, that is to say, with few exceptions they mention Syrians and orientals. Such is the inscription of T. Cassius Myron, veteran of the imperial army, who makes a dedication "Iovi Maximo Damasceno." ⁸² The cult of the Dolichenus, who had his temples on the Aventine and the Esquiline, was more conspicuous. "Being originally but a god of lightning, represented as brandishing an ax, this local genius of the tempest was elevated to the rank of tutelary divinity of the imperial armies." ⁸³ The inscriptions found in the western provinces are mostly from soldiers. ⁸⁴ The inscriptions of Rome show that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was regularly organized with a priesthood and colleges. The members called themselves 'fratres' or 'collegae' or 'colitores' or, less specifically, "quos elexit Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus sibi servire," 'those whom Jupiter had selected to serve him.' ⁸⁵ The inscriptions contain some information about the

⁸¹ CIL. X, 1579 mentions that a field with a 'cisterna' and 'tabernis' was the property of "qui in cultu corporis Heliopolitanorum sunt eruntque." Whether it refers to the Berytenses of no. 1634, or to another group of Heliopolitans is doubtful. This and the inscription of the Geremellenses show that the Syrian spirit of sectionalism persisted even when they adopted the cult of the same god.

⁸² CIL. VI, 405. The inscription was engraved on red Phrygian marble.

⁸³ Cumont, *ibid.*, p. 113. On Jupiter Dolichenus see the articles of Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, and of L. Cesano in De Ruggero, *Diz. Epigr.*, which have utilized in part the monograph of Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu*, Groningen, 1901.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 286 note 9.

⁸⁵ CIL. VI, 406, found in the ruins of the temple of the god on the Aventine. Notice that the dedications are usually made 'ex iussu IOMD' (407), or 'ex praecepto' (405 and 408), or 'iussu numinis' (413). Leclercq (DACL. VII, cols. 1923 ff.) has called attention to a few Christian inscriptions (4th or 5th century?) in which the formula "iubente Christo" appears. Two of them concern dedications. Leclercq remarks that the formula is not to be taken in the literal sense "sous peine de croire que ces inscriptions ont été tracées sous l'ordre directement manifesté par le Sauveur. Nous sommes ici tout simplement en présence d'une formule qu'on rencontre, rarement d'ailleurs, à Rome et en Afrique, à une date déjà tardive." Evidently the formula as used in dedications was not of Christian origin. In some cases it may have had no specific meaning other than an emphatic profession of confidence in the protection of the god and of

worshippers and hierarchy of the god, and we learn that there were three classes of adepts: (a) the 'colitores,' who formed a collegium with officers called 'principes,' 'notarii,' 'patres,' and under the protection of 'patroni;' (b) 'candidates' and 'neophytes,' probably persons in training for the priesthood; (c) 'sacerdotes' under the direction of a high priest. There were also 'curatores templi' and 'lecticarii dei.'⁸⁶ It was more or less the same type of organization found in the priesthood and collegia of the Metroac and the Isiac cults.⁸⁷ But the names of both the priests and the officers of this college of Dolichenus are all foreign names with a strong Syrian flavor.⁸⁸

We know somewhat more about the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, thanks to the excavations made on the Janiculum which have brought to light the foundations of the three shrines which succeeded one another on the same sacred spot in the lucus

adherence to the established traditions of his worship. But in other cases it refers to oracles or visions (Mommson, *Inscript. Neapol.* 2602, "imperio deae" [Magna Mater]; Orelli, *Inscr. lat. sel. coll.* 6033, "iussu ipsius"; Boissier, *Rel. rom.* I, p. 369), or to priestly predictions (Boissieu, *Inscript. de Lyon*, pp. 24 ff.). In an inscription of Africa a devotee dedicates an altar to Mercury by order of the Dea Coelestis of Carthage (*Inscr. de l'Algérie*, 3301), and in an inscription of Dacia a dedication is made to Jupiter Dolichenus by order of Esculapius. See also Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 21, "iubente domina," and the famous "instinctu divinitatis" of Constantine. Notice also the analogy between the concept of the phrase "quos elexit sibi servire" and the concept of the Christian clerus in the classical definition of Jerome "in sortem domini vocatus."

⁸⁶ CIL. VI, 405, 408, 409. The inscription 410 of the time of Commodus shows devotees of the god among the 'tabellarii stationis marmorum,' the deposits of imported marble along the Tiber under the Aventine, still called the 'marmorata.'

⁸⁷ Merlin, *L'Aventin*, pp. 374-375. Another Syrian college was attached to the temple on the Esquiline (CIL. VI, 414, 3698, 3699).

⁸⁸ For instance, in 406 we find "L. Tettius Hermes kandidatus et patronus pro salute sua et coniugis et filiae et Aureli Lampadi fratris carissimi," and among those "quos elexit IOMD sibi servire," "M. Aurelium Oenopionem Onesimum signum Acaci notarium, et Septimium Antonium signum Olympi patrem, kandidatos, patronos, fratres carissimos et collegas honestissimos Aurelium Magnesium, Aurelium Serapiacum, Antonium Marianum, M. Iulium Florentinum principes huius loci et Aurelium Severum veteranum curatorem templi et Aurelium Antiochum sacerdotem, Gemius Felix et Vibius Euthychianus lecticarii dei." In no. 408 we find Fonteius Eutyichius scriba, and among the names of simple devotees we notice T. Aelius Hilarus and T. Aelius Hermogenis (3698), T. Fl. Cosmus (411), M. Aur. Andronicus (413), Paezon Aquilaes Basilaes actor cum Paezusa filia sua (366), P. Ael. Myron negotiator (367), and so forth. In Ostia the dedications are mostly by soldiers, and in Campania by mariners of the fleet at Misenum (e. g. CIL. XIV, 22, 210; X, 1577).

Furrinae.⁸⁹ The small and very modest chapel built probably under Nero was evidently the humble abode of the national god of a small group of Syrians of the poorer classes who lived in the foreign district on the slopes of the hill. The larger and well decorated shrine built by Gaionas under Commodus witnessed the summit of the glory of the Syrian gods in Rome. The temple itself, though dedicated primarily to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, became the pantheon of the Syrian gods, all of whom were there the object of worship. They retained their original foreign names of Malachbelos, Beheleparos, Aglibolos, Jaribolos, Adados, Maleciabrudis, and their local attributes;⁹⁰ they were gods identical in function and distinguished only by their topographic origin. The persistence of these distinctive marks even in Rome shows that the introduction of them into the city and the continuation of their cult was due to the persistence of Syrian groups whose special protectors they were. This inference is confirmed by the inscriptions, which, as in the case of the Dolicheus, contain mostly Syrian names.⁹¹ Gaionas, the generous 'deipnocrites' and 'cistiber' of the god, was undoubtedly a Syrian, and probably from Heliopolis.⁹²

⁸⁹ See above pp. 218-219.

⁹⁰ Gaukler, pp. 11 ff. The name of Jupiter Maleciabrudis was on an altar found in the excavations. He was one of the long series of 'malek' or god-kings of Syria, being the malek of Jabruda in the same way that Jupiter Heliopolitanus was the malek of Heliopolis, and Malechelos the malek par excellence of the Palmyrenians.

⁹¹ Such as Trebonius Sosianus (CIL. VI, 423), Terentia Nice cum Terentio Damirone filio sacerdote et Fonteio Onesimo filio (422), M. Oppius Acroecus et Sestius Agathangelos (Gaukler, p. 13). An analysis of the many inscriptions mentioning the Dea Suria and other deities under whose names Syrian gods at times disguised themselves, like Fortuna Primigenia (Gaukler, p. 252), Jupiter Hammon, whose head adorns one of the altars found in the excavations (ibid., pp. 15 ff.), Zeus Keraunios, to whom the same altar is dedicated by a woman, Artemis Ekaisidonia Cypria (ibid., p. 18), and even Silvanus, whose equivalence to Jupiter Hammon was established by Gaukler (Bull. arch. du Comité afric., 1899, pp. CLIX ff.), and also Jupiter Sabazios (Gaukler, p. 64; Cumont, pp. 22, 59, 64 ff.), leads also to the same results. The Syrian and oriental names constitute by far the majority of their devotees.

⁹² The office of 'cistiber' attributed to Gaionas on his funeral epitaph (CIL. VI, 32316) is not known from other sources. Probably it was a synonym of 'cistifer,' or bearer of the mystic 'cista.' See De Ruggero, Diz. Ep. under 'Cistiber,' and Gaukler, pp. 42 ff. The same Gaionas dedicated a granite column to Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Ostia (CIL. XIV, 24). See Cumont, 'Gaionas le *δευροκρίτης*,' in Comptes-rendus, Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, 1917, pp. 275 ff.

The excavations on the Janiculum have brought to light also another and important fact concerning the form of the cult. What made the Syrian cults unpalatable to the Romans lay in the characteristically savage practices of sacred prostitution and human sacrifice.⁹³ Sacred prostitution, so conspicuous in the cult of the Phoenician Astarte and a little less so in that of Artagatis or Dea Suria, may at times have been practised secretly in Rome among the Syrians, but left no trace, outside the attempt made by Elagabalus to introduce in their completeness the original forms of the Syrian cults. But all other ceremonies, including sometimes human sacrifice, seem to have been performed on the Janiculum. The piscina supplied by the spring of the lucus Furrinae and dedicated by Gaionas furnished the sacred fish for the offerings, and the subterranean chamber with the symbolic statuette encircled by a snake and supporting the sacred eggs was the secret shrine of the mysteries and initiation rites.⁹⁴ But there are strong traces that human sacrifices were now and then performed in the place. On the pedestal supporting the statue of the Syrian Zeus in the central apse of the temple was found a small cavity and in it a box containing a human skull. Its presence in that spot can only be explained by a sacrifice of consecration offered to the deity at his entrance into the new abode, of the sort practised in the

⁹³ Cumont, *Or. Rel.*, pp. 128 ff.

⁹⁴ The rather obscure epigram engraved on the slab around the faucet of the piscina is at least clear about the sacrificial use of the construction:

δεσμός ὅπως κρατερὸς θύμα θεοῖς παρέχοι,
ὅν δὴ Γαίωνᾶς δειπνοκρίτης ἔθετο.

Gaukler (p. 40) interprets: 'By the capture of the water in this receptacle Gaionas the deipnocrites has provided for the sacrifices to the gods.' Moreover beyond the entrance of the temenos there was a delubrum, a small square room with a little fountain for the ritual ablutions which every worshipper performed before entering the shrine. It was evidently the need of having at their disposal clean spring-water for their ablutions according to tradition that the worshippers of Jupiter selected and obtained the lucus Furrinae for their shrine (Gaukler, p. 249). On the chapel of the mysteries which was rebuilt when in the times of Julian the Apostate the third temple superseded the temple of Gaionas, see Gaukler, pp. 178 ff. The bronze image was found intact and the shells of the symbolic eggs were still lying around it. Gaukler thought it was an image for Artagatis (pp. 209 ff.), but closer inspection has shown that it is a juvenile figure resembling rather the Mithraic Kronos, an astral symbol such as Macrobius describes and as were to be seen in the temple of Hierapolis (Turchi, *Le Religioni mist.*, pp. 168 ff.). It be-

Semitic religions.⁹⁵ Moreover, three human skeletons were found under the floor of the apse directly before the pedestal, and seven more along the left wall of the temple. Their location and the construction of the tombs leave no doubt that at least some of them belong to the period in which the temple of Gaionas was the centre of the Syrian cults in Rome. The only acceptable explanation for the presence of these tombs within the sacred precinct of a temple in Rome is that human victims were secretly offered to the deity on great occasions, and that the bodies were secretly buried in the same place.⁹⁶ It seems thus that the Syrian deities in Rome, far from undergoing a process of romanization, kept to the end their tribal characteristics and their savage rites.

How little these individual Syrian cults affected the religious life of the Romans appeared more clearly when Elagabalus, high-priest of the god of Emesa and emperor for four years, attempted in every way to subordinate all other cults to that of his god and to transplant to Rome all the orgiastic practices of the original Syrian worship. Although the Roman populace

longed to the third temple and to the solar religion revived by Julian the Apostate. Among the numerous fragments of pottery found in the 'favissa' of the temple of Gaionas, Gaukler collected many samples of glazed vases used in the ritual, and assigns to these an oriental origin, for they are glazed in dark blue with a metallic glare, a shade of color that the western potters could never reproduce and the secret of which was jealously kept by the eastern potteries of Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus. It would seem that the Syrian priests imported from the East even the sacred vases used in their liturgical performances.

⁹⁵ Gaukler, pp. 86 ff.; 274 ff. Also Cumont, art. 'Dea Syria,' in Daremberg-Saglio-Pottier, *Dict. d'Antiq.*, 1911. Undoubtedly this skull was put there in the consecration of the third temple, but there is no doubt that, following the ancient tradition, a similar sacrifice was offered at the consecration of the temple of Gaionas.

⁹⁶ Inhumation within a temple was a thing unheard of in pagan Rome. The lack of inscriptions excludes the suggestion that these were tombs of prominent devotees of the god who wished to be buried near their protector deity. The third temple of the fourth century lasted only a few months, and so large a number of sacrifices can not be attributed to so short a space of time. In spite of the fact that the Romans of the imperial period objected to human sacrifices, there is no doubt that ritual murders took place now and then even by order of emperors, especially in connection with magical practices. But the laws, the Senate, and many emperors took a firm stand against such atrocities. The penalty for those who indulged in such practice was to be thrown 'ad bestias,' or, if 'honestiores,' to be beheaded (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 639 ff., and R. Wünsch, art. 'Human sacrifices,' in Hastings, *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, VI, p. 861).

and the army were already too cosmopolitan in origin and tastes to be scandalized by the triumph of another Syrian god in the capital, and although Elagabalus courted the favor of the people with gorgeous spectacles and festivals and satisfied the army with abundant largesses, yet the glorified Baal and his emperor-priest were soon forgotten.⁹⁷ When the imperial favor ceased to protect them, these Syrian cults lost ground in Rome and gradually disappeared.⁹⁸ It was through them, however, that Rome came first into contact with the solar religion which marked the supreme effort of pagan Rome to give unity and consistency to its religious life.

The cult of the Sol Invictus was introduced officially by Aurelian, who transferred the images of Bel and Helios taken from the conquered Palmyra to a new temple in Rome, where the new deity was officially worshipped as the supreme god and the protector of the empire and of the whole Roman civilization. Apparently it was but another Syrian cult, one neither new nor unknown in Rome, and which in its popular interpretation as well as its theological content appeared to differ very little or not at all from the Sol Invictus Elagabali or from other solar deities of various origin. In fact, however, the new cult was a denationalized religion whose constitutive elements were

⁹⁷ The god Elagabalus is mentioned in only three Roman inscriptions (CIL. VI, 708. 2269, 2270), all concerning a certain Iulius Balbillus "sacerdos Solis Elagabali," to whom Eutyches lib. Aug. "offinator a statuis" dedicated a memorial. On the cult of Elagabalus and the Roman feeling about it, see Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, 1886, pp. 254 ff. The revolting debaucheries of the cult are vividly described by the Roman historians. However, as Cumont remarks (p. 214), there is some doubt whether they, "being hostile to that foreigner who haughtily favored the customs of his own country, did not misrepresent or partly misunderstand the facts. Elagabalus's attempt to have his god recognized as supreme and to establish a kind of monotheism in heaven as there was monarchy on earth, was undoubtedly too violent, awkward and premature, but it was in keeping with the aspirations of the time and it must be remembered that the imperial policy could find the support of powerful Syrian colonies not only at Rome but all over the empire."

⁹⁸ The rapid decay of the temple of Gaionas illustrates the loss of interest in the Syrian cults after they lost imperial favor. The temple was even cut off by the new wall of Aurelian from direct communication with the Trastevere. After Constantine it was pillaged and burnt, and it had to be entirely rebuilt in the short-lived revival under Julian.

primarily of Babylonian origin but had been affected in various degrees by Greek, Egyptian, and Jewish influences and by philosophical and mythological traditions, and above all by astral beliefs and eschatological dreams. All these ingredients had come to be grafted upon the aboriginal Semitic nature-worship and the tribal gods, who became representatives or personifications of the astral power controlling the destiny of men.

As Cumont remarks, "it was characteristic that the god Bel whom Aurelian brought from Asia to set up as the protector of his state, was in reality a Babylonian who had emigrated to Palmyra, a cosmopolitan centre apparently predestined by its location to become the intermediary between the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean."⁹⁹ This is true, but it is no less true that this religion, as now introduced into Rome, was not now a religion of immigrants like all the others which had preceded it on the banks of the Tiber. It did not represent merely or primarily a national tradition of a group. On the contrary it was a cosmopolitan religion, not only because its ingredients, though mainly Chaldaean, were of various origin, and not only because in its comprehensive syncretism it attempted a thorough assimilation of deities and myths into an astral theology, and because in its henotheism, to which Judaism contributed a good share, the solar religion put forward a claim to universalism, or rather to a cosmopolitanism in keeping with the aspirations of the times and with the social and religious consciousness of the Roman world, but also because it appeared clothed with a political significance transferred to it from the Roman political tradition and symbolizing the universality and the unity of the empire.

Around the Sol Invictus all other cults and mysteries gathered in a kind of system of convergent channels through which the religious life was attracted to the same centre and by which were diffused to the worshippers new vitality and spiritual meaning. The new mysteries of Mithra, which, especially through the propaganda of the soldiers, spread from Persia all over the Roman world, joined hands with the old mysteries of the Magna Mater and Attis, with Serapis, already prepared for

⁹⁹ Cumont, p. 124.

this rôle, with Bel, and with the old Jupiter Capitolinus, who as 'Iupiter coelestis' had ever a connection with the material heaven, and found it easy to become 'Iupiter exsuperantissimus' and so to be transformed and absorbed into the radiant atmosphere of Helios.¹⁰⁰ It seemed as if finally Rome had here found the religion which satisfied its spiritual needs, for the new cult not only appeared to embody the political tradition of Rome, but through its eschatological doctrines and its mysteries also secured salvation in the world beyond, for which the ancient state-religion made no provision. And yet this religion failed to accomplish the miracle; it worked only to the benefit of Christianity, which after only half-a-century more secured a final victory over all other cults and religions.

This rapid survey of certain aspects of the religions and cults of the immigrants in Rome leads us to a double conclusion. First, in the first three centuries of the empire Rome had become the great religious centre of the world, where all religions and cults of importance established their headquarters and under official protection carried on their work of propaganda. Secondly, for the most part these religions retained in Rome their exotic character, and though they enjoyed official favor and tried to adapt themselves to the environment, they did not undergo a real process of latinization and romanization. But this latter point must be treated more in detail.

¹⁰⁰ Cumont, 'Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus,' in *Archiv f. Religionsw.*, 1906, pp. 326 ff.

V

NATIONALISM AND UNIVERSALISM IN THE MYSTERY-RELIGIONS
IN ROME; FOREIGN RELIGIONS AND STATE RELIGION;
THE PROCESS OF ROMANIZATION AND THE
FAILURE OF THE CULTS

THE foreign religions in Rome, though various in origin and introduced at different times and in part under diverse circumstances, all had in their relation to their new environment a development in some degree parallel which finally brought them into converging lines and to a common ground.

As we have seen, most of these religions were introduced by immigrants; yet there is a remarkable difference between the process which in republican times and during the early empire brought to Rome the religions of Asia Minor and Egypt, the cults of the Syrian gods, and even the African cults, and that which in the third century gave success in Rome to the solar religion and the Persian mysteries. While in the former group of religions immigrants played the most important, and a decisive, part in both the earlier and the final stage of their history, in the latter cults the immigrants were only an incidental and secondary element. This difference in the external history of these foreign religions in Rome came about because the former were introduced as national religions of foreign groups and remained such at least in certain aspects of their religious practices and organization, while the solar religion, when it was officially introduced in Rome, appeared in the character of a cosmopolitan religion.

Not all, however, it must be observed, of the religions of the immigrants were originally in the same sense national religions. The gods and goddesses of cities and regions brought to Rome by their devotees were protector deities of local character, and the official worship which they received in their cities of origin was for the immigrants the symbol of their national cohesion and of the continuity of the religious traditions of their ancestors. But the mystery-cults, with their eschatological and soteriological content were originally not official cults of cities and states.

In origin mostly agrarian, their home development had been on the margin of and sometimes in conflict with the official public cults. Yet an interpenetration and partial fusion of these two types of religion had already taken place in the eastern countries before the introduction of the mysteries in Rome. The Great Phrygian Mother had become a partner in the mysteries of Attis, the gods of Egypt had assumed a rôle in the mysteries of Osiris, and the ancient gods of Persia in the mysteries of Mithra. This contamination of the agrarian religions and their myths of vegetation and fertility with the city religions and the myths of the city gods who, whatever their remote origin, had assumed a civic meaning and the value of political and national symbols, coincided in those countries with the loss of independence or of their national dynasties through political and military decay.¹ The empire of Alexander the Great and the hellenistic kingdoms and states established on its ruins not only made possible an amalgamation of civilizations of various origin, but by giving a great impulse to the process of urbanization, by establishing in many lands new Greek cities on the site of native villages and new town-centres for large agricultural districts,² they offered the old agrarian cults and rites the opportunity to assume under new hellenistic forms the character of city and national religions.

The political unification of all those countries under Roman rule and the process of urbanization carried on more thoroughly by the emperors of the first two centuries opened a still wider field of activity to the mystery-religions; and at the same time the great migratory movements of the populations of the empire from one province to another, which succeeded the earlier hellenistic diaspora, made it not only possible but even inevitable for these religions to develop further the universalistic tendencies inherent in their character as religions of individual salvation, and, breaking over their restriction to one race or state, to become open to all believers who might seek to be saved through initiation.

¹ This early development of the mystery-cults is well outlined by Pettazzoni, *I Misteri*, pp. 287 ff.

² Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 51, 249.

Thus the mystery-cults introduced into Rome by foreigners and largely practised by them were not slow to claim universality and to open their ranks to applicants from the various groups of the cosmopolitan population of the city. But, as we have seen, these religions did not entirely lose their national character and connections, even when they put forward more outspokenly the claim to universality, and when the philosophical and theological syncretism of their new religious environment attempted a mutual interpenetration of their various myths and symbols. The mystery-cults in Rome lived and developed under the constant strain of this interior conflict between two opposite tendencies, that of keeping their national or racial character, and that of becoming really and truly universal religions.

The former tendency was the result of many causes, but above all it was due to the conservative force of tradition and to the practical necessity of preserving ritual continuity, and it was fostered by the interests of the priestly classes in whose hands lay the spiritual control of the cults. To the immigrants from eastern regions, and especially to those of the servile classes, the ancient official gods of the cities and states of their land of origin could not appear in the same guise of civic deities as to their fathers and to a certain extent to their countrymen who still lived in the old country. Since the disappearance of the political states or city-states, now absorbed into the great Roman Empire, had deprived those deities of their main function, of protecting and safeguarding the national political and social organization, they would have lost their very reason for existence if a new function had not been given them. Some of them were attracted within the orbit of the mystery-cults, in which they played a new rôle in the myths of salvation; others, as was the case with the Syrian gods, although they often maintained their original distinctive local titles, yet assumed a new meaning, became symbols and personifications of universal powers, and were the vehicles through which the solar religion reached the West.

The national traditions of the immigrants came thus to be represented by the mystery-cults and by the rejuvenated deities

in the larger setting of universalistic religions. No less strong were the reasons connected with the liturgical practices that kept those religions bound to their past history and their native traditions. Since salvation was dependent upon the exact performance of the rites which induced the saving experience, it was a matter of great importance to safeguard the unbroken continuity of liturgical tradition. It is true that all these mysteries had undergone remarkable modification in their later hellenistic environment, assuming Greek forms and adopting at least in part the Greek language, but nevertheless the essential and distinguishing liturgical ceremonies, especially those of the secret initiation, remained unchanged, and the use of magic formulae in the ancient languages was always a conspicuous part of the esoteric ritual. Furthermore, the various racial origins of the mysteries were even more prominent in the myths which explained and justified the ritual, and in the theological elaborations which represented the age-old wisdom of the ancient eastern civilizations. A native priesthood offered the best guarantee for the continuity of the ritual and doctrinal tradition; it is therefore not surprising that in Rome, even after these cults obtained recognition and protection and made converts from all races, the priesthood remained in the hands of foreigners or of Roman citizens of foreign extraction. On the other hand, compelling motives urged those religions not only to abandon their national exclusiveness — which after all had been given up in the hellenistic environment, but to claim a universal character. Cosmopolitan Rome, ever growing more mixed in race, could be conquered only by emphasizing the universalistic content of these religions of individual salvation, and by reinterpreting their national myths and their rites and religious experience in the light of a syncretistic mythology and theology. The favor of the political power and the more or less official position that these cults obtained in Roman religious life made the more necessary their complete denationalization. But the strongest influence came from the tendency to religious syncretism prepared and advocated by philosophers and thinkers. This was gradually gaining ground in Rome and the empire, and finally, when Roman institutions seemed on the verge of ruin,

and in the process of readjustment religious unification presented a hopeful means of strengthening the political structure of the empire, was adopted as a political program by the state.

It is commonly thought that the various religions of Rome, with the exception of Christianity, lent themselves not only willingly but even with enthusiasm to this process of absorption into a universal religious syncretism which was finally represented by the cult of the Sol Invictus as the sum total of all divine powers and all divine manifestations, the supreme synthesis of the eternal laws on which the destiny of men in this world and the next depends, and the source from which all particular religious experiences derive their value and significance. But it seems to me that the attitude taken by all the religions to this comprehensive syncretism, which reached its climax in the third century, was not so unselfish.

The general notion that each people was bound to have its own religion as an essential requisite of its national existence and a treasured national possession (*"sua cuique civitati religio est, nostra nobis,"* Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 28) was slow to die. It implied the notion of a national ownership of the powerful protection of ancestral deities and of an exclusive right to the advantages and privileges derived from the worship of them; national pride and family traditions could not easily give up all this. When historical events and political and social vicissitudes brought together the Mediterranean races and religio-national exclusivism could not be maintained in practice, and when these religions began to open their ranks to individuals of all races, the national notion survived in various forms. The most typical of these is to be seen in the Eleusinian mysteries, in which foreigners who were initiated were supposed by virtue of the initiation to become members of the Hellenic nation.³ This notion of religio-national adoption was an intermediary stage in the process of the universalization of religions. And not

³ This notion, however, was not peculiar to the Eleusinian mysteries. Probably all those cults implicitly or explicitly adopted it at a certain stage, and the names assumed by certain groups of initiates (as for instance that of 'Persae' among the Mithraists) may be a survival of the practice of religio-national adoption. On Jewish adoption see the following chapter.

only the mystery-religions, but the state and city official religions present a similar historical development; on the one hand they remained attached to their national exclusivism or at least to their national religious privileges, on the other they had recourse to the juridical fiction of adoption, either of foreign deities into the circle of 'dii patrii' or of foreign races into the ranks of worshippers of the national god. The former was the method followed by Rome, the latter that of Judaism, in which, however, the adoption of gentiles as members of the Jewish nation was the last stage in the evolution toward universalism, the whole tradition of the special privileges of the Jewish race being left intact.

In all other religions the process of denationalization had to advance further in the attempt to reach a true universalism. It was necessary to cast out not only all national limitations but also all national and racial connotation; only so could they achieve an ethnic universalism. But such a universalism, though so difficult to achieve, would not have made a religion truly universal. The conception of universalism implied something more. The universalism of the Roman empire was not due to the mere fact that Rome had brought together under her supremacy all the Mediterranean races, but primarily to the fact that above all diversity of races and traditions she had established a system of centralized political and administrative organization, and a system of law which secured unity and was the practical manifestation of the fundamental conception of the nature of the state peculiar to Roman juridical wisdom. Parallel with that, in a religion the conception of universalism implied more than the opening of its ranks and its worship to all races. Religious universalism implied the possession of a religious moral content of universal value and of a religious organization which could make it possible for such a religion to interpenetrate and influence all the activities of individual and associated life, to formulate standards and programs for social and political conduct, and to extend its teaching and practices over all the realities of this life as well as over the hopes of the life to come.

Such was the task with which these religions were confronted;

and the irresistible current which dragged them toward syncretism seemed to offer the best opportunity. But in spite of it the mystery-religions failed to reach the goal. Undoubtedly they desired to adopt each for itself all the elements of traditional mythologies and mystical experiences by which immortality and salvation could be secured, but they were no less anxious not to be absorbed by another cult and so lose their individuality and, indeed, their reason for a separate existence.

In other words, they all welcomed a religious unification, provided it came to pass on their own ground; the more so that long before religious syncretism became a political measure these religions had each put forward the claim to be a supreme synthesis of all religious values and so had reinterpreted their myths in competition with one another. The influence of the eclectic universalism which aimed at a combination of the religious traditions and thought of the oriental, Greek, and Roman world, was made to serve their individual interests. The fluctuating character of their myths, the similarity of their mystical experience, and the common orgiastic element in their liturgies facilitated the assimilation, and even the identification, of religions of this type; but their national and racial traditions, their peculiar ritual practices, and the interests of their priestly classes proved strong enough to assure their individual existence as separate religions, even when the process of identification obliterated all difference in their spiritual content, at least in the eyes of thinkers and in the consciousness of the educated classes, including the priesthood itself.

When the old goddess of Pessinus claimed to be the "*mater deum optima maxima*," when Isis appeared as "*myrionyma*," a universal deity in a thousand forms and under a thousand names but always unchanged, when Osiris himself assumed the qualifications of "*deus deorum magnorum potior*" and "*maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator*" and of "*Zeus aeternus*," when even every obscure Syrian Baal climbed to the top of Olympus, becoming a "*Iupiter Optimus Maximus*," these religions were moved not so much by the purpose of extending mutual recognition to all cults and religions on a footing of equality, as by that of claiming each for

itself the right to represent all other cults and so of preserving its own separate existence. Moreover, while all this display of titles and qualifications may have had a meaning for philosophers and poets, in the popular consciousness, as shown often in the plastic representations, these deities kept their original attributes and distinctive insignia, just as they kept their cults with traditional ceremonies and peculiar symbolic meanings — in a word they kept their exotic character.⁴

The internal conflict in each of these religions between the national and racial traditions, connections, and characters, on the one hand, on which they were built, and which could not be eliminated, and on the other their aspirations and claim to universality, was complicated by another and still more important difficulty with which they were confronted. In order to conquer the Roman world they had to come to terms with, and eventually to supersede, the official cults of Rome, and to acquire a control of political power to the point where their cause should be identified with the cause of the empire. It was here that they failed, and finally met their doom. This view may seem preposterous in view of the whole history of imperial Rome during the first three centuries, and of the growing fondness of a large part of the Roman population for these foreign cults which secured for themselves not only a conspicuous place in Roman religious life but also the recognition and protection of the law and at times an extravagant imperial favor which reached its climax in the official proclamation of the *Sol Invictus* as the official religion of a seemingly orientalized empire. But in spite of this so-called orientalization of the monarchy, the politico-religious conception which lay at the root of the whole Roman

⁴ That in Rome there never was open war among the various cults in competition for the public favor was not due to the similarity of their content and ritual (a reason which would probably have made the conflict more inevitable), but rather to the strict control under which all of them were kept by the state and to the severe imperial legislation relating to men or institutions responsible for disturbances of public order. But the competition among the cults was undoubtedly keen and often unscrupulous. Interesting traces of it may be found in the aretalogies, several of which have been discovered and published in recent times. See on this point the valuable study of G. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-religion*, Tübingen, 1919, and the papyrus fragment (Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, X, no. 1242) containing a debate before the emperor Trajan between the Jews and the Serapists of Alexandria.

'jus' and the political wisdom of Rome remained essentially Roman. This conception was that the 'respublica,' the State, stood at the summit of all political and social as well as religious values. To this principle everything else had to subordinate itself, individuals and institutions, men and gods. Roman tolerance toward the religions of conquered peoples had its basis not only in the universally admitted principle that all religion was national in character, but also in the Roman politico-religious conception of the respublica. Just as the national institutions of the conquered peoples were respected in so far as they could comport with the requirements of the Roman rule, and provided they subordinated themselves to the Roman system, similarly their religions were left unmolested provided they remained in subordination to the official cults which represented both the religious and the political tradition of the Roman power. When in Minucius's dialogue Caecilius repeats the common saying of the time, that the Romans venerated the gods of all peoples, he adds the reason which must have seemed obvious to every Roman. The gods of conquered peoples, by allowing the Romans to conquer those nations, had recognized the superiority of the Roman gods, and had accepted a subordinate place in the religious hierarchy of powers; by honoring all gods the Romans won the right to rule the world.⁵

But against these theories and polemical explanations of the invasion of Rome by foreign deities and cults stood the fact that the ancient Roman religion itself had gradually assumed hellenistic forms, and that the old Roman gods now found themselves transformed into the deities of the Greek Olympus. Yet it must not be forgotten that while the Roman Jupiter may have borrowed from the Hellenic gods features and insignia, titles and liturgies, he nevertheless remained essentially the religious personification of the Roman power. It was not that Jupiter had descended from his high throne of the Capitol to mingle with the deities of the conquered nations, but rather that the foreign gods were made to climb the stairs of the Capitol and offer to Jupiter their attributes and their insignia.

The establishment of the imperial authority and its gradual

⁵ "Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt regnare meruerunt," Oct. 63.

transformation into an absolute monarchy were the last stages not only of the political, social, and economic evolution of a mighty empire, but also of a religious evolution which amid all changes aimed at a single goal, the religious consecration of the eternal institutions of Rome. To the Roman tradition those institutions were the result not merely of human wisdom but primarily of a divine will and divine wisdom. Laws and decrees, declarations of war and treaties of peace, every step in the growth of Roman institutions and power had been sanctioned by religious rites and by divine consent; they bore the mark of divine favor and almost the character of divine institutions. "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Stator, Invictus et Custos" was, and remained, the religious symbol of the destiny of Rome to conquer the world and rule it through Roman laws and institutions and Roman political organization, which were the instruments and the divinely ordained manifestation of superior power. When laws and institutions gradually came to be embodied in the person of the emperor, the mantle of Jupiter also was drawn over the imperial shoulders. From the cult of the 'Dea Roma' and the 'Genius Augusti' to the full development of the cult of the 'Divi Imperatores' and down to the end of the empire, it was the divine character of the Roman power that was glorified by the divine titles assumed by the emperors, whether the titles of Jupiter or Hercules, or of the Sol Invictus, or even those of the Christian God.⁶ Whatever meaning the Sol

⁶ On this point see G. Costa, *Religione e Politica nell'Impero romano*, Rome, 1923 (especially pp. 32-87, 'La latinità religiosa dell'impero,' with an interesting study on the imperial titles). Costa's conclusion that the so-called oriental solar symbolism and terminology must not be considered as necessarily a foreign importation into Rome (p. 86) may appear exaggerated, but his contention that the force of assimilation exercised by Rome and Latin civilization was not altogether overcome by orientalism, and that Roman institutions were not entirely submerged by the waves of oriental religious and political traditions and customs, seems to me well founded. A. Grenier in his recent very suggestive book, *Le Génie romain dans la religion, la pensée et l'art* (Paris, 1925. *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, XVII) has duly emphasized, as his conclusion from an extensive analysis of all the elements of Roman civilization, the fact that "le génie romain n'est pas, il s'est fait peu à peu," that it developed not only under the force of circumstances but by the exercise of a "wonderful capacity of assimilation" which characterized the intellectual life of the Romans. The originality of the Roman genius consists chiefly in its power to combine elements of various origin into a unity; this originality is to be found "non dans les composants, mais dans le com-

Invictus could assume in the solar pantheism of thinkers and poets or in the humble consciousness of the devotees of the poorer classes, in the political tradition of Rome it was another incarnation of "Jupiter Victor, Liberator, Conservator, et Pacator Orbis," that is to say, the divine guardian of *Roma Aeterna*. The "Imperator optimus maximusque, princeps, pius, felix, invictus, aeternus," shared with the god the task of guiding the Roman destiny of universal dominion. Since religious and political values were thus identified, and since recognition was not denied to all legitimate gods of the nations, Rome had to insist on the high religious significance of its own political institutions and had to give them the sanction of a religious cult. It was this process more than oriental influences and traditions that made possible the establishment of the worship of Rome and the Emperors, and gave it real importance.

In the light of this conception, the Roman power did not concern itself with the multitude of gods worshipped by individuals or by groups and nations, so long as these remained within the limits of a specific religious experience and did not attempt to give political content to their principles or a political aspect to their organization and practices. But foreign religions in Rome and elsewhere, led by the logical implications of their mystical content and the opportunities offered by racial mixture and racial contacts under the Roman administration, assumed more and more the character of religions claiming universality, and demanded the right of unlimited proselytizing. Rome, on the contrary, with its fixed conception of the national character of every religious cult, could conceive of religious universalism only in the form of a superimposition of the official religio-

posé" (p. 482). Roman religion was the result of a fusion of the various gods which prehistoric times and the migrations of peoples had established in Italy, of Etruscan and Greek gods, and finally of oriental gods and cults which joined the procession; but "c'est la cité qui lui imprime une forme quasi juridique, administrative et enfin foncièrement politique." In the same way the city-state became a state of hellenistic type and even a monarchy of oriental aspect, but "l'âme de la cité n'en demeure pas moins ce que l'ont faite des siècles de lutte obscure et âpre." In conclusion, "le génie romain a recueilli peu à peu la substance de tout le monde antique et lui a donné une forme nouvelle. C'est sous cette forme imposée par Rome que l'héritage de l'antiquité est parvenu au monde moderne, au moins à celui d'Occident et aux nations latines en particulier" (p. 483).

political cult of the State on all other cults. Furthermore, these religions, through their active and successful propaganda, had spread beyond national and racial boundaries, were interlocked and mingled together in the capital itself, with the result that a complicated situation arose in which not only were religious interests at play, but social, political, and economic interests also had a prominent part. Under such circumstances the principle of religious tolerance based on the national character of each religion lost all possibility of practical application and became a mere theory. The recourse to the legal fiction of adoption of a foreign deity by the Senate showed itself in process of time to be an imperfect solution, since it was susceptible of interpretation as a mere juxtaposition of Roman religious values and those of the conquered nations on the same level. It failed to emphasize the superior and absolute character of the religious side of the *respublica* in the Roman conception.

A final solution was found in the cult of Rome (already practised in the later republican times in the provinces) and of the Genius of the Emperor as two parts of a single indivisible whole, a cult that became the civic and religious duty of individuals and groups, official bodies and private associations, all over the empire. The cult of the emperors came to symbolize all that was Rome, and so grew to be the only link uniting the religions of the empire to the Roman tradition. Strange as it may seem, the imperial cult, which in its terminology and external form appeared a foreign importation having little in common with the Roman tradition, was in reality, in its spirit and in the significance it assumed in Roman law and political consciousness, the ultimate logical transformation of the old conception which assigned to the *Respublica Romana* a unique place in the scale of human and divine values. Thus two quite different conceptions of the supreme religious value, one which identified it with a definite entity of political and social character and another which found it in a strictly individual mystical experience, were united by a common political allegiance. At first thought it might seem that there was no reason for conflict between the two conceptions and that they could live side by side in peace and harmony, for Rome did not object to a double religious

allegiance, one public and official, involving a profession of religious and political loyalty to the state and its institutions, the other private, with a special purpose for which the religion of the state had no equivalent to offer and with which it was obviously not concerned. The state as a religious entity had to admit its limitation so far as concerned the field of mystical experience and the next world; on this ground it could not compete with the religions of individual salvation.⁷ Yet in this dualism of the religious life was involved an irreconcilable contradiction.

The mystery-religions, and the cults which under their influence assumed a similar form, had to adapt themselves to the fundamental politico-religious conception of the Roman tradition; they accepted the cult of the emperors as an integral part of their function and submitted to the limitations imposed upon them and to control by the political power. But this adaptation was only an external and artificial juxtaposition of heterogeneous elements, and virtually condemned all these cults and religions alike to remain forever within the limits of an individual experience unable to express itself in any social or political program of life. Undoubtedly those religions, if left to themselves, to the logical evolution of their principles and spiritual and mystical aspirations, could not have failed to reach the stage at which the fundamental idea of a religious dualism would have appeared to be radically wrong, checking all progress of the spirit and striking at the roots of the religious life itself. The current philosophical and ethical ideals which were inevitably more and more permeating the mythical content and magical practices of the mysteries, necessarily created the consciousness that life and death, the individual and the community, cannot be put under the control of different divine powers or be judged by separate standards.

It has been noticed that the mystery-cults and religions of salvation, even in their Roman environment, lacked ethical teaching and content. They ignored character; participation in their rites and experiences was the sole condition of salvation. In individual cases, high-minded men who had found in philos-

⁷ G. F. Moore, *Birth and Growth of Religion*, 1923, p. 145.

ophy, particularly in Stoicism, a spiritual means of communion with God and spiritual ideals and motives of human life, when initiated into the mysteries, applied the ideas which they had brought with them to the rites and experiences of the new religion. But neither these individual cases nor any ethical reflection succeeded in making virtue a requirement in the mystery-salvations.⁸ This is quite true, but it is also undeniable that in the general progress of ideas the tendency to introduce a moral element into the purification-rites and a moral content into piety was strongly felt in mysteriosophic circles. As Cumont remarks, speaking of the mysteries of Isis, "when a new ideal grew up in the popular conscience during the second century, when the magicians themselves became pious and serious people, and were honored because of the dignity of their lives more than for their white linen robes, then the virtues of which the Egyptian priests enjoined the practice also became less external. Purity of heart rather than cleanliness of the body was demanded."⁹

But these tendencies never went beyond the stage of vague formulation, they did not crystallize into a moral system as an integral part of the religious mystical experience, and above all they did not reach the consciousness of the masses. Evidently those religions were arrested in the logical evolution of their spiritual content; their compromise with the exigencies of the Roman religio-political principles and interests was made at the cost of renunciation of their power to develop into religions of really universal character and into community-religions. If they had gone on to assume a definite ethical character, they could not have stopped half-way; their moral code would have been extended to embrace the whole activity of men, and salvation would have depended on character as the result of uniform principles of conduct applied in integral fashion to the whole of human life.

Moreover — and this is a most important point — if these religions had made progress in an ethical direction, they would soon have felt the need of disciplinary laws and traditions and

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

⁹ Cumont, *Or. Rel.*, p. 92. G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, I, pp. 449, 454.

generally accepted standards of conduct, and consequently the need of a comprehensive organization. This would have been made necessary by their claim to be universal religions and in order to carry on their ethical program and enforce these laws and traditions. At this point the fundamental antinomy between the Roman religio-political conception and that of the religions of salvation would have manifested itself in uncompromising terms and led to a deadly conflict, for the state, as a religious and political entity, could not allow the establishment of another organization of a universal character beside its own without running the risk of losing its own universalism. Thus Rome, while it left all these religions free in their mystical and liturgical activities, at the same time prevented them from becoming 'churches' in the sense of autonomous organizations extending through the empire and bound together by a hierarchical and disciplinary unity.

It is not necessary to deal here in detail with the internal organization of each of these various cults as practised in Rome. We have already given in the preceding chapters the epigraphic evidence as to the various degrees of their priesthood, the personnel of temples and shrines, and the *collegia* of cultores and worshippers which gathered round them.¹⁰ Their organization, however, in spite of the diversity of titles and functions, presents a uniformity and certain general characteristics which are important in relation to the special point with which we are here concerned. First of all, the priesthood and the whole organization of each cult, as well as their public celebrations, were under the jurisdiction of a governmental bureau, that of the 'quindecimviri sacris faciundis,' who appointed or confirmed the elections of all responsible officers of temples and cults, regulated the festivals, and prescribed the ceremonial of all public religious celebrations. Secondly, the priesthood of

¹⁰ Detailed surveys of the various classes of priests and assistants and of the classes of initiates in each cult may be found in the above quoted works of Graillot, Lafaye, Cumont, Toutain, and others, and in Waltzing for the religious associations. Lists of offices and associations in Turchi, *I Misteri*: Isis, pp. 117-118; *Magna Mater*, pp. 134 ff.; *Mithra*, pp. 196 ff. On the 'prophets' in the hierarchy of the Egyptian cults see the recent study of E. Fascher, *ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ*, Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Giessen, 1927, pp. 76-101.

the foreign cults appears to have been filled most of the time by foreigners belonging to the races which had brought the cults to Rome. Not only in republican times, when even the priestesses of the Greek cult of Ceres were called to Rome from Naples or Velia ¹¹ and the priests and priestesses of the Magna Mater were required by law to be Phrygians, but also in the imperial period and after the legal restrictions had fallen into desuetude the ranks of the clergy of foreign cults continued to be filled with foreigners or descendants of foreigners. Only in the last period, when the attempt was made to unify all of them in an official syncretism, do Roman names of great families appear with some frequency, often holding high offices in various cults at the same time. Thirdly, the priesthood of these cults differs from the Roman sacerdotia in that these priests were not mere performers of ritual ceremonies, but formed a special class endowed with spiritual powers and were the intermediaries between the god and the worshippers for the achievement of the religious purposes of life. And finally, among the devotees and worshippers of each cult there was a certain consciousness of religious unity and of community of purpose, which found some degree of expression in the terminology by which the adepts of the same cult designated themselves.¹² But in spite of this these cults never succeeded in becoming churches with a unified hierarchical organization.

For example, the religion of Isis, although it possessed a priesthood endowed with special spiritual powers, distinct from the rest of the faithful even in dress, and having special duties and special privileges, and although this priesthood formed a 'militia sacra,' a 'holy tribe,'¹³ never succeeded in coördinating the various sacerdotal colleges of the Isiac congregations of the empire in one organization under central sacerdotal control. The tendency was not lacking, for in Egypt the Isiac religion, in

¹¹ Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 24.

¹² Even the term 'fratres,' which was characteristic of the early Christians (A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4th ed., I, B. 3, Ch. 3), was not unusual in some cults, as for instance among the devotees of Jupiter Dolichenus ("fratres carissimos," *CIL*. VI, 406).

¹³ Inscription of Rosetta (*Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, Didot, I, Append. by Letronne, line 17, p. 2).

the hellenized form which it assumed under the Ptolemies, had a certain hierarchical unity, thus continuing the ancient Egyptian tradition in which the sacerdotal power had often formed a state within the state and had invaded and dominated the political power. But in Rome, since the religion of Isis had sought and accepted the protection and favor of the law, any attempt to create an independent organization in the name of absolute principles not identical with those of the state religion was bound to encounter the determined resistance of the state. The use of titles like 'summus pontifex Aegypti' or 'summus sacerdos Isiacus' must not deceive us. They were a piece of empty terminology by which the practical wisdom of Rome appeared to respect the external forms of the institutions of the conquered nations while superimposing on them a new spirit and a new interpretation.

There is no doubt also that the adherents of the cult of Isis throughout the empire had a certain consciousness of forming a religious unit, distinct from others¹⁴ and in their opinion better than these because their religion claimed to be a superior and universal synthesis of the whole religious wisdom of the past. The Isiac believer and initiate was received, wherever he went, by the confraternities of his religion without distinction of race or caste. Thus, according to Apuleius, Lucius, on reaching Rome from Africa, regularly attends the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius and is received there not as a stranger. "Eram cultor denique assiduus, fani quidem advena, religionis autem indigena." He says he found no difficulty in being admitted into the college of the Pastophori after the necessary initiations, and later became one of its officers, although the heavy initiation fees and the expenses for the ceremonies exhausted his limited financial resources.¹⁵

¹⁴ The Isiacs called themselves *στρατιῶται*, 'soldiers,' and were bound by a 'sacramentum' to the cause of their religion. This character, however, was more prominent among the Mithraists, among whom "the fraternal spirit of the initiates calling themselves soldiers was doubtless more akin to the spirit of comradeship in a regiment that has esprit de corps than to the love of one's neighbor that inspires works of mercy towards all" (Cumont, *Or. Rel.*, p. 156).

¹⁵ But at the same time the autonomous character of each Isiac congregation is manifest from the fact that in order to be aggregated to the Roman Isiac group Lucius

But whatever the feeling of kinship among the faithful, each city-group or congregation remained isolated and independent. This was true of all cults, both in Rome and in the provinces. They were never more than scattered groups, congregations, chapels, and fraternities, each living its own life in a separate environment and different conditions but all under the strict control of the law which kept them from becoming political associations; and they were incapable of developing the vital elements of their spiritual content or of forming any general organization through which they might attempt to conquer the world. All that they had in common was their cult of the emperor, the tangible sign of their humble submission to the religio-political Roman ideal; this bound them to their narrow individualism and prevented any social and political interpretation of their mystical experience.

The history of religion in Rome was necessarily a parallel development to Roman political and social history. In the first stage foreign religions, being religions of 'peregrini,' were not disturbed, provided they were practised in private and in seclusion apart from the social and religious life of the community; otherwise they were forbidden and their devotees expelled. When they became religions of peoples conquered by Rome and subjected to the Roman rule, their gods also, brought to Rome by the immigrants, gradually acquired right of citizenship in Rome, and their cults finally claimed the right to assume a public form. The transformation of the republic into the principate favored their claim but at the same time brought them more and more under the control of the state. In that period the early Roman empire was still a conglomeration of nations maintaining ancient traditions and institutions under the supreme rule of Rome; all religions lived side by side in Rome itself, restrained by the general laws of association and all alike bound to observe the official worship

had to receive a double and higher initiation, though he had already been initiated in the province. "*Caeterum futura tibi sacrorum traditio pernecessaria est, si tecum nunc saltem reputaveris exuvias deae quae in provincia sumpsisti, in eodem fano depositas perseverare nec te Romae diebus solemnibus vel supplicare iis vel, cum praeceptum fuerit, felici illo amictu illustrari posse. Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutaeque tibi sit, animo gaudiali rursus sacris initiare diis magnis auctoribus*" (Met. xi. 29).

of the state as represented by the Capitoline gods, and the cult of Rome and the Caesars. With the transformation of the principate into an absolute monarchy and the higher importance assumed by the provinces in the general economic and military organization of the empire, foreign religions in Rome acquired a more definite official position, with rights and privileges formerly belonging only to the state religion. When the absolute monarchy developed further into a military despotism with many oriental features, the levelling policy which aimed at greater concentration and uniformity in the administrative system of the military autocracy suggested also a religious unification to add new strength to the political structure. The attempt to achieve such a unification through a syncretistic religion which combined official cults and religions of salvation in the imperial worship of the Sol Invictus failed, and then finally the state turned to Christianity, by means of which the unification was achieved.

Why Christianity was destined to succeed where other religions had failed, and why the state, after having persecuted it for three centuries as an element of disintegration, turned to this very religion as a constructive and unifying force, is a problem that has been discussed and analyzed from every point of view and with which we shall deal more directly elsewhere. But as the conclusion of this survey of the religions of the immigrants in Rome, it is necessary to mention a few points relating to the problem.

Through a long and painful process of evolution Christianity had assumed the character of a true universal religion, with no national or racial connections, in possession of a doctrinal system that assumed the forms of contemporary philosophical thought, and having a moral system that put under religious sanction the purest and highest ethics of religion and of philosophy. Finding only persecution instead of recognition, Christianity interpreted its own universalism in terms directly opposed to the Roman political and religious conception. Persecuted but free from the control of the state, it developed in reaction against the tyranny of a political religion, and it could clearly and consistently formulate a moral program of life in-

dependent of and superior to the laws of Caesar and the destinies of the empire. Above all, Christianity was able to develop its internal organization into a strong hierarchical unity, well knit together, trained to face conflicts and overcome obstacles, and ready to withstand the danger of being stifled or reduced to a merely passive rôle by the protection of Caesar when finally Caesar should grant it. In other words, Christianity as a religion did not hesitate to claim its right to have a social and political program, and even to supplant the old state religion and become thoroughly Roman both in spirit and in external organization.

Since violence had failed to eliminate this dangerous competitor of the state in the claim for universal authority over all human activities, there was nothing left for the state but to seek its friendship and alliance. To turn the enemy into an ally was the obvious device of political wisdom; and the attempt was made to bring about a gradual absorption of Christian universalism into the universalism of the state and to bind the church to the wheels of the government by bestowing privileges and protection upon the Christian religious organization. It was thus that Christianity entered its new career as the official Roman religion. But this point and the whole problem of the Christian teaching and organization in the Roman environment will receive further light from a brief survey of the Jewish community in Rome under the empire.

VI

THE JEWS IN ROME; JEWISH DISTRICTS; SYNAGOGUES
AND CEMETERIES

THE social conditions, juridical position, and religious situation of the Jews in Rome were different from those of all other foreign groups.¹ The complete identification of religion and nationality in the Jewish consciousness was the result of the whole development of the religion of Israel as a revealed body of doctrines and laws which guaranteed to the Jewish race, in accordance with the divine plan made known to the sons of Israel through prophets and teachers, a high and unique place in universal history. The religion of the Jews was, and at all times remained, a national religion, but the necessary implications of its monotheistic development made it inevitable for it to assume also the character of a universal religion. The con-

¹ On the Jewish community of Rome, besides the comprehensive chapters in the well known general histories of the Jews by Schürer, Ewald, and Grätz, there are several special works and monographs which trace its history from the origins to modern times: A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols., 1893; H. Vogelstein und P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols., 1896; P. Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, 2nd ed., 1877; E. H. Hudson, *A History of the Jews in Rome*, 1882; G. Blustein, *Storia degli Ebrei in Roma*, 1921. Others deal only with the early period or treat in general of Judaism in the Greek and Roman world: A. Bludau, *Die Juden Roms im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert*, 1903; M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, 1915; and the chaotic but still useful work of Manfrin, *Gli Ebrei sotto la dominazione romana*, 3 vols., 1888-1892. Special monographs and articles on various historical and archaeological questions will be mentioned later. But the two main sources for the knowledge of Judaism in the Roman period are J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, 2 vols., 1914, an exhaustive work on the juridical, economic, and social condition of the Jews, and the recent great work of George F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: the Age of the Tannaim*, 2 vols., 1927, the most comprehensive and authoritative first-hand study of the content and value of the religious teaching and traditions of Judaism, its doctrines, its morals, and its piety, and their social implications. The historical introduction is a model of scientific treatment of religious history, and the analysis of the sources a masterpiece of historical criticism. From this book, which supersedes all that has been written on the topic, and presents Judaism in its true light, rectifying many opinions and traditions universally accepted by scholars and historians, I have largely drawn, as well as from Juster's book, in my endeavor to present the Jewish community of Rome against the background of Roman cosmopolitan life and with reference to its character as a community of immigrants.

flict between the two mutually exclusive characters of nationality and universality in religion, which the mystery-cults and religions of salvation of the hellenistic and Roman world tried to solve by a process of inclusion and of identification of deities and myths, the outcome being a philosophical and religious pantheism, was solved by the religious teachers of Israel in a different way.² Jehovah was the God of Israel and Israel the people of Jehovah. But there were no other gods beside Jehovah, who was the creator and ruler of the universe. The religious leaders of Israel, "at least from the eighth century, taught that the relation between Jehovah and Israel was peculiar in that it was constituted by his choice, and rested on a compact the terms of which he had prescribed and Israel had accepted. The election by which Israel alone of all the nations of the earth was made the people of Jehovah is Israel's glorious prerogative."³ The religion of Jehovah will one day be the religion of all mankind and Israel is to be "his instrument for the accomplishment of this end; it is his prophet among the nations." Jehovah "has called it to this high mission, has endowed it with his spirit and given it his message; he sustains it amid difficulties and discouragements till it shall achieve final success; it is to be a light to the nations, that God's salvation may be as wide as the world."⁴ In the day of triumph the Jews will not lose their prerogatives: on the contrary the universality of religion will secure their final triumph of their nation. "They will be called the priests of the Lord, and the other

² Moore, I, pp. 219 ff., 'Nationality and Universality,' traces the origins and development of these two mutually exclusive characteristics in the religion of Israel and shows how they affected Jewish proselytism. For this point see the next chapter.

³ Moore, I, p. 222. The political catastrophes of Israel and Judah and the tribulations which visited the people at the hands of foreigners were interpreted by the prophets as Jehovah's vengeance for their own and their rulers' sins. The triumph of the enemies of Israel was not due to the power of their gods but to Jehovah, who executed his judgment on religious treason. "This interpretation had momentous consequences. . . . Henceforth for all time the principle was established that for a Jew to worship any other god is apostasy." This moral and non-speculative origin of Jewish monotheism explains how it was possible for Judaism to formulate a universal program of expansion without giving up the privileges of the national religion. On the character of Jewish monotheism see also Moore, I, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ Moore, I, p. 228.

peoples will minister to them in temporal things as the Jews are their ministers in sacred things." ⁵

The Jews carried with them into the diaspora the consciousness of the high destiny of their race which proceeded from their religion. Living among the heathen, they organized their group life in accordance with their own religious laws and traditions. Whether or not an independent Jewish state still existed in Palestine, their religious consciousness was not changed nor their hopes shattered; on the contrary, the disappearance of the Jewish political state led the Jews more than ever to find in their religious organization and practices the centre of their national individuality and their racial consciousness.⁶

It is obvious that the group life of the Jews in the diaspora, resting as it did on such a foundation, would be organized on a different plan from that of all other groups whether of native population or of foreigners. While with other groups of immigrants the practice of their native cults did not prevent them from mingling in all kinds of social and economic activities, or from taking part in the official cults of cities and states, for the Jews, on the contrary, religion was more than a form of worship, since it involved a series of definite prescriptions regulating their social and economic relations and even the common acts of every-day life, such as food, drink, and personal contact.

⁵ Moore, I, p. 230: "The forms in which the religion of the golden age to come were imagined were naturally those of the national religion internationalized. The temple in Jerusalem should be the religious centre of the world, to which worshippers from all lands should stream bringing their sacrifices and precious gifts." "The way in which the triumph is to come about is also conceived in national forms; it is by a stupendous historical catastrophe in which the heathen will be constrained to recognize the hand of the sovereign of the world vindicating his own honor in the overthrow of those who would not acknowledge him and in the deliverance and exaltation of his people."

⁶ "The Jews under Persian rule had no political existence; they had only a national religion, and in its preservation lay their self-preservation. That the religious leaders had the insight to perceive this and the loyalty to contend with all their might against the dissolution of both nationality and religion, whether in the age of the restoration or in the crisis of Hellenism, or after the destruction of the temple and the war under Hadrian, is certainly not to their discredit. The separateness of the Jews, their *amula*, was one of the prime causes of the animosity toward them, especially in the miscellaneous fusion of peoples and syncretism of religions in the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman world; but it accomplished its end in the survival of Judaism and therein history has vindicated it," Moore, I, p. 21.

When the first Jewish community began to form in Rome, in the second century B.C.,⁷ the Jews had already had a long experience as immigrants in foreign lands. Under the most varied circumstances, and overcoming all kinds of obstacles and objections, they had everywhere succeeded in maintaining either *de jure* or *de facto* the exercise of their own laws, and in forming a separate community wherever a large number were present in a town. It was the same at Rome. As long as the Jewish nationality was embodied in an independent state allied to the republic, Rome could not refuse to grant to the Jews of the city, in their quality of foreigners, whether 'peregrini' or of the servile classes, the usual freedom to practise their own religion and to observe all the customs required by their religious laws.

But with the Jewish group a peculiar problem arose. Since on religious grounds the Jews could not participate in the official cults or observe the numerous legal prescriptions of oaths and ceremonies which gave religious character or sanction to so many of the official, social, and economic activities of the people (such as court procedure and the making of contracts), the grant of religious tolerance to the Jewish immigrants made necessary a further series of privileges and exemptions which had no counterpart in the case of any other foreign group in Rome. A special grant was needed for this extended interpretation of the principle of religious tolerance, and, as it seems, it was not denied by the Romans. It appears to have assumed fuller juridical form under Caesar, and gained its final shape, especially in regard to the official cults, only under Claudius, who confirmed in regular form the religious privileges of the Jews. After the destruction of the temple and the disappearance of the Jewish state the privileges of the Jews were not withdrawn; the grant made to the nation for its religion was

⁷ It does not seem probable that any considerable group of Jews was to be found in Rome before the end of the second century B.C. The tradition that in the year 139 B.C. there was an expulsion of Jews from Rome on account of their proselytism ("sacra sua tradere conati erant," Jan. Nepotianus, abbreviator of Valerius Maximus, Epit., iii. 3, 3) does not seem reliable. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, III, p. 177, thinks that they were merely Jewish ambassadors sent from the Maccabees. Juster, II, pp. 169-170.

not held to be affected by the political changes in Palestine, so that the juridical condition of the Jews of the diaspora did not hang on the fortunes or misfortunes of the Jewish state.⁸

The three main characteristics which distinguished the foreign groups in Rome, namely, their concentration in special districts, their religious associations, and their relations with the land of origin, are found in a very high degree in the Jewish settlements on the banks of the Tiber. Palestinian Jews always formed a good part of the Roman Jewish community from the time of Pompey, who after his conquest of Jerusalem in 62 B.C. brought to Rome thousands of Palestinian prisoners to be sold as slaves. But presently, as Philo remarks, many of the Romans who bought them preferred to set them free, finding them more troublesome than serviceable by reason of their obstinacy in refusing to live and work with and like the gentile slaves.⁹ From republican times, side by side with the Jews who of their own free will had come to the capital from the various cities of the diaspora, led by financial reasons or by other motives, Rome also contained numbers of *liberti* of Palestinian origin or descent, possessing Roman citizenship, and these seem to have played a part of some importance in the tumults and riots of the Clodian period and of the civil wars which brought to an end the republican régime.¹⁰ Under the empire, after the war which culminated in the destruction of the temple (70 A.D.) and again after the rebellions, first that under Trajan, then that under Hadrian (135 A.D.), which led to a more drastic dispersion of the Jewish race and to the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman colony with the name of *Aelia Capitolina*, still larger numbers of Jewish prisoners of war were brought to Rome from Palestine. Most of these prisoners were used by the government in the construction of the great public works and monumental buildings by which the emperors embellished the city; but numbers of them, either through their own efforts or through

⁸ On the Jewish privileges see the following chapter.

⁹ Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, ed. Mangey, II, p. 568. On the manumission of Jewish slaves see Juster, II, pp. 80 ff., and bibliography, no. 1.

¹⁰ Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, *passim*.

the charitable support of the Jewish community, gained their freedom and strengthened the ranks of their group in Rome.

As has been stated above, the oldest Jewish settlement in Rome was in the Trastevere region where most of the oriental groups had their headquarters.¹¹ During the first century after Christ other Jewish groups gathered in the Subura,¹² on the fringe of the Campus Martius, and near the Porta Capena. This last seems to have been, at least in Juvenal's time, the largest and most typical Jewish district of Rome. According to probable inference from contemporary sources it seems that when Tiberius expelled the Jews from Rome in 19 A.D., they numbered about fifty thousand, while the whole population of Rome was scarcely more than one million. But a few years later the Jews were again as numerous as before, and, with the exception of temporary periods of increase or decrease, fifty thousand seems to have been the average number of the Jewish population of Rome. Their concentration in special districts was not imposed upon them by law, and was not the restriction on their liberty which it gradually came to be in the Christian period.¹³ It was rather due to natural inclination and affinity, and still more to the many detailed obligations imposed upon the Jews by their religious law and its prescriptions about clean and unclean food and contact with gentiles. Conse-

¹¹ The Jewish district was on the side of the Janiculum. A memorial slab mentioning "Jason twice archon" (De Rossi, *Diss. Acad. Arch.*, ser. II, vol. II, p. 26), found in that region, seems an indication of the place that was occupied by the Jews of the Trastevere. Marucchi, *Di un nuovo cimitero giudaico*, Rome, 1884, p. 7.

¹² The district of the Subura must have been rather in the upper than in the lower section, reaching probably the "agger Servi Tulli," where according to an inscription there was a synagogue. The inscription mentions a fruit vendor P. Corfidius Signinus, a pagan who had his little store near the synagogue ("pomarius de aggere a proseucha"; *CIL*. VI, 9821). It seems, however, rather improbable that this Jewish district could extend from the Subura to the Porta Collina. It is possible either that the group of the agger formed a small Jewish section topographically distinct from the Syburienses, or that there was only a synagogue but not a Jewish group living around it. On this point see later.

¹³ Only in periods of repressive measures do we hear of such impositions upon the Jews as in the case of Flaccus, who under Caligula obliged the Jews of Alexandria to evacuate one of two large districts in which they lived and shut themselves up in the other (Philo, *In Flaccum*, 8). In Sardis the Jews themselves asked the privilege of having districts of their own (Josephus, *Antiq.* xxiv. 7, 2). Juster, I, p. 190; II, pp. 180-209.

quently the Jewish community in Rome, as elsewhere, had both in its membership and in its institutions a character of permanence which set it in striking contrast to the other foreign groups whose constituency and organization were in constant process of change and in danger of exhaustion through lack of newcomers to supply the place of the older elements absorbed into the Roman racial mixture. With rare exceptions the Jewish families remained from generation to generation faithful to their racial traditions and connections, and their *ἀμύξια* saved them from being absorbed by other races and protected their community against dissolution for lack of members.

The privilege of living according to "the laws of the fathers" implied the right of the Jews to form associations of their own. In a community ruled by a religious law, as was every Jewish community, those associations could not help taking a religious form, and this was in harmony with the Roman law, which authorized only associations of a religious character and having a religious purpose. Such were the Jewish synagogues in Rome. The Greek term 'synagogue,' which in hellenistic Judaism was applied by a long tradition to the Jewish religious assemblies, had already before the Christian era become the common name of a public institution.¹⁴ In the diaspora 'synagogue' came to mean not only the building in which the religious meetings were held, but sometimes the whole Jewish community of a town or city. In places where the Jews were few and there was only one *προσευχή*, or building for religious meetings, the identification of synagogue and community was natural and did not create confusion; but in the large cities,

¹⁴ Moore, I, pp. 281 ff., 'The Synagogue.' The remote origin of the synagogue may probably be traced to the "spontaneous gatherings of Jews in Babylonia and other lands of their exile on the sabbaths and at the times of the old seasonal feasts or on fast days, to confirm one another in fidelity to their religion in the midst of heathenism, and encourage themselves in the hope of restoration" (p. 283). But before the beginning of the Christian era the synagogue had become a public institution, commonly possessing an edifice, and had attained an independent position as a seat of worship of distinctive character and of regular instruction in religion as an organic part of worship, and even as its most prominent feature (p. 284). See Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, 1922, esp. pp. 103 ff., 'Gemeinden und Synagogen,' and 'Das Leben in der Gemeinde' and 'Das Leben in der Synagoge,' pp. 159 ff.

where the Jews were numerous and were grouped in various districts having several synagogues, the necessary distinction between a group which gathered in a special place and the community as a whole required a different technical terminology.¹⁵ Thus in Rome in imperial times the term synagogue was generally used for the individual groups which formed special associations within the larger Jewish community.¹⁶

In the eyes of the Romans a Jewish synagogue was a religious

¹⁵ Juster is right in his contention that the various terms used to indicate the Jewish organizations, *πολιτευμα, πολιτεία, κατοικία, θίασος, προσευχή, σύνοδος, συναγωγή, στέματος, ἔθνος, λαός, universitas, corpus*, or simply *Judaei* or *οἱ Ἑβραῖοι*, were equivalent in so far as they expressed the specific national character of the Jewish groups. He remarks also that there was a difference among the various terms: "parmi celles-ci une partie montrent, peut-être, les rapports politiques entre la ville et la communauté; à cette disparité de noms répond, peut-être, une variété dans les détails de l'organisation intérieure" (I, pp. 416 ff.). It seems to me, however, that the distinction between small communities forming a single group and large communities having several Jewish groups is fundamental in the interpretation of those terms when they are applied to concrete cases. Unfortunately we know little or nothing of the internal organization of the large communities like those of Antioch and Alexandria. The Jewish community of Alexandria with its centralized personal government seems to have been unique. But the organization in Rome, of which we know more, was on a different plan.

¹⁶ Juster has refuted with reasonable arguments Mommsen's contention that it was the synagogues as religious associations which enjoyed the privileges granted to the Jews, and not the Jewish nation; but this does not imply that the synagogues did not have the character of associations, even if they were based on a general grant to the Jewish nationality and not on individual grants made to each of them. Juster prefers to call the Roman synagogues 'paroisses' by analogy with the 'parishes' of the later Christian organization. The term seems to me misleading. It suggests that the synagogues were also territorial units, that is, that the Jews of a synagogal district all belonged to that synagogue and that over that district the synagogue had full religious jurisdiction. That such was the case in Rome is far from certain; on the contrary, the inference from the names of some of the Roman synagogues suggests that they were formed by people of the same profession, or having the same origin, or of the same social condition, or immigrant from the same place. That the synagogue of the Vernaculi or of the Calcarienses or of the Tripolitans was a territorial unit is difficult to believe. In Jerusalem itself there were many synagogues under the very shadow of the temple and even one within its precincts, but they were voluntary associations with no parochial character. The prevalence of the Palestinian element in Roman Jewry suggests a similar organization, although in the diaspora the synagogue necessarily had a higher importance than in Jerusalem, where the temple was the seat of the cult. Undoubtedly every faithful Jew in Rome attended a synagogue and often this would be the one nearest to his residence; but that the members of at least some of the synagogues came from different districts is more than probable. This fact accentuated their character as associations, with the result that they assumed the external form of a *corpus*, or *collegium*.

collegium of a foreign cult organized like other *collegia* of foreign deities and authorized by the law. But while in many of its external features the synagogue thus appeared not unlike the pagan *collegia*, in reality there was a substantial difference between them.¹⁷ The *collegia* had each a special statute or constitution in the modern sense, which had to be approved by the government before the permit to form a *collegium licitum* was granted; the synagogues, on the contrary, were formed by virtue of the general privilege granted to the Jewish nation, and the members acquired their right to membership from the fact that they belonged to that race, so that only Jews could join a synagogue, while the membership of the *collegia*, as we have seen, was constituted on different principles.

But the most important difference lay in the wider and more comprehensive function of the synagogue. It possessed in fact an administrative, educational,¹⁸ and juridical organization of

¹⁷ The question of whether the synagogues were *collegia* in the juridical sense has been the subject of much controversy. Mommsen, starting from the false premise that after the year 70 the Jewish nation as such was juridically extinct, held that after that year the Jewish communities had no legal standing, and that only the Jewish associations, or synagogues, were recognized, on the basis of the general laws regulating the *collegia*. Renan had already maintained that the organization of the Jewish communities was modelled after the Greek and Roman associations, and this theory, accepted by many theologians, prevailed also among the historians. W. M. Ramsay concluded that after the destruction of the temple 'synagogue' was a mere synonym for 'collegium' applied to the Jewish associations. Schürer, on the contrary, held that the term synagogue was adopted by the Jewish associations when their members became citizens of the *πόλις* in which they lived. Juster (I, pp. 418 ff.) refutes the premises as well as the conclusions of all these theories, and holds that the synagogues never became *collegia* in the juridical sense, but were and remained ethno-religious associations based on the privileges granted to the Jewish nationality, privileges which were not revoked after the fall of the Jewish state. This is correct; but the difference in their juridical status, and also in their function, did not prevent the synagogues, or some of them, from assuming in the eyes of the public and perhaps of the Jews themselves all the external forms and appearance of *collegia*.

¹⁸ That it was an institution for the religious education of the people is the "most prominent feature" of the synagogue (Moore, I, p. 284); and this, it seems to me, is the fundamental difference that makes the synagogue an association of a wholly unique nature. This point is duly emphasized by Moore: to the Jews, "the synagogue was a place for instruction in the truths and duties of revealed religion; and in imparting and receiving this divine instruction no less than in praise or prayer they were doing honor to God — it was an act of worship." "To the observation of the Greeks it suggested a school of philosophy. The preliminary purifications and the prayers which

its own; and it exercised both directly and through the central organ of community government not only a religious and moral authority over its members, but also a form of civil jurisdiction in regulating contracts and settling disputes, and even a limited criminal jurisdiction with the power to inflict penalties, which were sanctioned by the public authorities. In a word the Jewish associations, taken all together, actually possessed all the essential elements of organization and government pertaining to a city, and not merely showed the semblance of such institutions, as was the case with the *collegia*.¹⁹ Furthermore, the *collegia* were autonomous institutions, having each a life separate from that of the others and standing in no official relation of dependence or of hierarchical connection even with associations of the same cult or of the same nationality. On the other hand, all the Jewish synagogues in Rome formed together the Jewish community of the city, represented by a central authority endowed with definite powers; and in its turn this Jewish community of Rome formed an integral part of the Jewish nation at large, to which it was bound not only by a community of beliefs and laws, of traditions and hopes, but also by a certain subordination to the central authority of Judaism, be it represented by the *sanhedrin*, or by the patriarchs, or by the great teachers of the most famous schools.

Like the *collegia* the Jewish associations enjoyed the right to own buildings for their cult, schools, and burial-grounds for their dead. They were allowed to receive 'donaria,' but at least until the time of Marcus Aurelius neither type of association could accept legacies, which goes to show that the juridical assimilation of the synagogue to the *collegia* was carried as far as was practicable by the Roman legal tradition.²⁰ As in all

preceded the reading and exposition of its books were not without analogies in certain Greek religious and philosophical circles, such as the Pythagoreans" (Moore, I, pp. 285, 284).

¹⁹ Juster, II, pp. 93 ff.; S. Krauss, pp. 159 ff.

²⁰ See above, p. 245. Even after Marcus Aurelius the right of receiving legacies by the synagogues was sometimes restricted. An edict of Caracalla (213 A.D.) forbade the Jewish "universitas" of Antioch to accept a legacy from a certain woman named Cornelia Salvia. But such measures were exceptional in character, and affected only specific cases. Juster, I, p. 432.

Roman associations, the funds of the synagogue came from fixed contributions of the members and from donaria to meet the expenses of the cult, of the celebrations, and of the cemeteries, but, unlike the method of the collegia, the contribution of each member of the synagogue was fixed in proportion to his means, and a considerable portion of the funds was spent for a purpose which had no counterpart in the collegia, that is, for the relief of the poor of the Jewish community.

Besides what is known about Jewish synagogues in general in the Graeco-Roman diaspora, very little information has reached us as to the specific character and organization of the synagogues of Rome during the first three centuries of the empire. Most of it comes from inscriptions and fragments recently discovered in the Jewish catacombs, which have yielded a considerable material that throws some light on the institutions and life of the Jewish community of that period.²¹ The numerical importance of this community and the fact that its members were grouped in various districts explain why the synagogues were so numerous in Rome. We already know the names of thirteen of them and others may come to light in the course of the excavations in the latest rediscovered catacomb on the Via Nomentana. In the form in which they are given

²¹ The Jewish inscriptions of Rome now form a considerable corpus of several hundred. In CIG. IV, 9894-9926, and CIL. VI, 29756-29763, are collected most of those known up to the publication of those volumes. A new collection, including those discovered up to 1895, was compiled by Vogelstein and Rieger (VR) in the appendix to the first volume of their history (pp. 459-482). A few were overlooked (Juster, I, p. 181, note). Those discovered later are scattered in various Roman archaeological periodicals: *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana* (NBAC), 1899, p. 252; 1900, p. 311; *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale* (BAC), 1900, pp. 223-225; *Notizie degli Scavi* (NS), 1900, p. 88. The inscriptions found in the catacombs of Monteverde from 1904 on were in part published by N. Müller. The originals are now to be found in the Nuova Sala Giudaica of the Lateran Museum of Rome. A collection of them was first published by Schneider-Graziosi in NBAC, 1915, pp. 13-56. A new and more complete edition with photographic reproductions was prepared from the papers of N. Müller (1912) and published with an historical and philological commentary (*Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakomben am Monteverde zu Rom, entdeckt und erklärt von N. Müller, hrsg. v. N. A. Bees, Leipzig, 1919*). A few more, found in the same catacomb, were published by G. Paribeni in NS, 1919, pp. 60-70; 1921, p. 358. The inscriptions found in the newly discovered catacomb on the Via Nomentana were also published by G. Paribeni in NS, 1920, pp. 143-155.

in the inscriptions these names are: (1) τῶν Αὐγουστέσιων, the synagogue dedicated to the emperor Augustus; (2) τῶν Ἀγριππησίων, dedicated to Agrippa; (3) τῶν Βολουμνησίων, dedicated to Volumnius; (4) τῶν Ἡρωδίων, probably dedicated to Herod; (5) of the Καμπήσιοι, that is, the people of the Jewish district of Campus Martius; (6) of the Σιβουρήσιοι, of the district of the Subura; (7) τῶν Βερνακλησίων, or Βερνακλῶρων, or Vernaculorum, that is, Jewish slaves born in Rome; (8) τῶν Καλκαρησίων, or Calcarensium, lime-kiln workers; (9) Τριπολειτῶν, those from Tripolis; (10) τῆς Ἐλαίας, those from Elaia; (11) τῶν Ἑβρέων, the Hebrews; (12) Σεκήνων, the Sekeni; (13) of Calabria.²² The

²² The list of the Jewish synagogues of Rome given by Juster (I, p. 515) contains only nine titles and that of Krauss ten (pp. 250 ff.). The references to all known inscriptions, including those published by Paribeni and omitted by Krauss, are as follows:

- (1) Synagogue of the Augusteans: VR, 35, 85, 176; Müller, 25, 174, 175. This synagogue was in the Trastevere near the Porta Settimiana or on the site of the church of S. Salvatore della Corte.
- (2) Synagogue of the Agrippians: VR, 120; Müller, 2; Paribeni, NS (1919), 10, p. 65. This synagogue also was located in the Trastevere.
- (3) Synagogue of the Volumnians: VR, 152; Müller, 106; Paribeni, NS (1919), 5, p. 61.
- (4) Synagogue of the Herodians: VR, 124.
- (5) Synagogue of the Campesians: VR, 11, 46, 152; Müller, 3 (?), 37 (?).
- (6) Synagogue of the Syburesians: VR, 68, 72; Paribeni, NS (1920), 8, 26, 36.
- (7) Synagogue of the Vernaculi: Müller, 109, 110, 111.
- (8) Synagogue of the Calcarensians: VR, 20, 52; Müller, 107, 108, 3 (?), 37 (?); Paribeni, NS (1919), 4, p. 63.
- (9) Synagogue of the Tripolitans: Müller, 116; Paribeni, NS (1919), 5, p. 63.
- (10) Synagogue of the Elaïans: VR, 78, 123.
- (11) Synagogue of the Hebrews: VR, 38, 98; Müller, 14, 50, and probably 117, 118, 122.
- (12) Synagogue of the Sekeni: Paribeni, NS (1920), 19.
- (13) Synagogue of the Calabrians (?); based on the reading of an inscription in Hebrew or Aramaic proposed by A. Vaccaro, NBAC, 1917, pp. 36 ff.: 'Annia mother-in-law [or, son-in-law] of the head [of the synagogue] of Calabria.' But U. Cassuto, NBAC, 1916, pp. 193 ff., reads: 'Annia husband of Bartholomaea.' And in Müller, pp. 129-130 (No. 142), Littmann and Gressmann read: "Totenklage, Hochzeit (ist) die Sache aller Schöpfung," while Lidzbarski renders: "Trauer, Hochzeit ist jedermanns Los." Vaccaro, NBAC, 1922, pp. 47 ff., raises objections to such an interpretation and insists on his own.

My colleague, Professor Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University, makes the following suggestion: "On the basis of Vaccaro's reading of the inscription a third interpretation is possible by taking the second line דבר קלבריה as the preposition ב with the surname or proper name of an individual, בר קלבריה, Bar-Calabria, i.e., 'Son of Calabria' or 'Calabrian.' Such surnames or proper

first four of these synagogues were undoubtedly in existence in the early years of the empire, but as for the others we have no knowledge of the time at which they were established. It is certain, however, that they were in existence before the fourth century. Nor, with the possible exception of the Synagogue of the Augustesii, do we know the exact place where any of them stood. It would seem that not all of them were within the limits of the Jewish districts. The question of the location of the synagogues is largely dependent on the controverted and more general question whether in the eyes of the Roman law the synagogues were considered as temples of a foreign god or not. If they were, as is not unlikely, the law, which in republican times and in the early empire permitted shrines of foreign deities not yet adopted by the Senate to stand only extra pomerium, must have been applied to the synagogues. As a result some Jewish groups would have had to have their synagogue outside the Jewish districts. Important remains of a peculiar building were found above ground at the entrance to the Jewish cemetery on the Appian Way (Vigna

names formed by the combination of 'bar' with the name of a place are not uncommon in Aramaic, e.g., Bar-Daroma (Gittin 57a). Accordingly the inscription could be rendered: 'Annia son-in-law of Bar-Calabria.' In that case Calabria could not be taken as the name of a Roman synagogue. If Müller's reading is accepted, the contrast between אֲנִיָּה and חַתָּנָה in the first line may be made more pointed by taking the word אֲנִיָּה not in its biblical sense of 'mourning' or 'moaning' in general but rather as the equivalent of its cognate אֲנִיָּה (post-biblical), which is used specifically as a technical designation for the mourning during the interval between death and burial. Accordingly the first line may be rendered: 'Funerals — Nuptials.' Similarly in the second line בְּרִיָּה in the sense of 'human being' is common in post-biblical Hebrew."

Professor G. F. Moore writes me: "Cassuto's reading and rendering seems impossible; Vaccaro's reading of the inscription seems also extremely improbable and his interpretation even more so. Judging from the photographic reproduction of the inscription the reading of Müller's editors and Lidzbarski's rendering seem preferable." Professor W. R. Arnold suggests that the inscription was intended to inculcate attendance at funerals and weddings as everyone's duty, an altogether appropriate inscription for a cemetery (see Moore, *Judaism*, II, pp. 172 f.). The existence of this synagogue is thus very doubtful.

A Roman synagogue called by the name of Severus Alexander is referred to by writers on Jewish history (VR, I, pp. 34-35, 39; Krauss, p. 254), but no inscription mentions it, and the assumption of its existence is not warranted by any sound evidence.

Randanini), in which Garrucci traced the plan of a synagogue.^{22a} It seems, however, that the Jewish synagogues in Rome were modest buildings which never assumed any artistic or monumental importance sufficient to warrant a description, or even to lead to a mention side by side with the great synagogues of Alexandria, Antioch, or other large Jewish communities. Their names in their laconic brevity open the way to suggestive comparisons and significant deductions bearing on the peculiar form assumed by the Jewish organization in Rome under the influence of the environment. It seems as if the Jews in Rome, although their associations were based on special privilege and enjoyed special rights, yet adopted certain forms of associated life that were common to all the immigrant groups of the capital. The influence of the environment reacts upon all social groups, and in the long run affects to a considerable extent all institutions of immigrant groups, even those most exclusively national and most stubbornly resistant to the levelling forces of a great centre like imperial Rome. Thus we find among the Jews of Rome the same tendency to form special associations of persons having either a profession or occupation in common, or belonging to the same social class, or possessing other common social characteristics. Although professing the same national religion and belonging to the same foreign community, yet of the synagogues formed by these small groups some resembled the *collegia domestica*, such as the synagogues of the Augusteans, of the Agrippians, and of the Volumnians;²³ others

^{22a} Unfortunately these traces have now disappeared, but Garrucci's description (*Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, Rome, 1862; see below, note 27 [a]), shows that there was a large hall or vestibule with apses and a small contiguous chamber provided with a fountain for ablutions (Leclercq, *Archéologie Chrétienne*, I, p. 498). Leclercq remarks (p. 342), that probably, if the identification of the church of St. Aschmunit in Antioch with the synagogue of the Cerateum called *τὸ λερόν* is accepted, that was a similar case, since there was also a funerary crypt under the edifice. This identification, however, based on an Arabic description of the sixth century, is very doubtful. On the general plans of ancient synagogues and their architectural details see the exhaustive treatment of Krauss, pp. 267-365.

²³ The synagogue of the Augusteans was so named in honor of the emperor Augustus; that of the Agrippians has been thought to have assumed its name in honor of Marcus Agrippa, Augustus's nephew, who favored the Jews of Greece and Egypt against the persecutions of the local populations. It has even been supposed that this synagogue was perhaps formed by Jews of Alexandrian origin (VR, p. 12).

assumed the form of professional *collegia*, such as the synagogue of the Calcarensians; others suggest the *collegia* of the lower classes, such as the synagogue of the Vernaculi, or slaves; others represented ethnical subdivisions, recruiting Jews from a single city of the diaspora who wished to keep apart at least to the extent of assuming a name that recalled their special origin, such as the synagogues of the Tripolitans and of the Elaians;²⁴

But in Müller (p. 6) this common opinion is rejected, and it is held that the Agrippians took their title from the name of one of the two Agrippas, Jewish kings. The synagogue of the Volumnians took its name from a Volumnius, probably the Roman procurator of Syria, Volumnius, who according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 9, 1; 10, 9; *B. J.* i. 27, 2) was involved in the tragic conflict of King Herod and his son. E. Bormann ('Zu den neuentdeckten Grabschriften jüdischer Katakomben von Rom,' in *Wiener Studien*, XXIV, 1912, pp. 362 ff.) has made it probable that the members of these three synagogues, of Augustus, Agrippa, and Volumnius, were freedmen of these great Roman families, and therefore that these associations were really Jewish *collegia domestica*.

²⁴ The existence of the synagogue of the Tripolitans was first suggested by the inscription found in Monteverde by Müller (116: Σύμμαχος ἱεροσάρχης Τριπολίτης), which, however, left room for doubt, since it could be interpreted as mentioning merely the city of origin of Symmachus, a Tripolitan ἱεροσάρχης who may have died in Rome on a visit. But all doubts were dispelled by the discovery by Paribeni in the same cemetery of another epitaph mentioning the synagogue of the Tripolitans (NS, 1919, no. 5: Πρόκλος ἄρχων συναγωγῆς Τριπολεϊτῶν). Müller proposed Tripolis in Syria as the city mentioned in the inscription of Symmachus, who supposedly belonged to that Jewish community, for which he gives the reference to Schürer's history. But, as A. Vaccaro (NBAC, 1922, p. 49) remarks, the passages in Schürer do not deal with the Jewish community of the Syrian Tripolis; and he proposes Tripolis in Africa as the city of origin of the Jews who formed in Rome the synagogue of the Tripolitans of which Symmachus was ἱεροσάρχης and Proklos ἄρχων. The importance of the Jewish community of the African Tripolis and the connections between that city and Rome make this interpretation more probable than that of Müller. The synagogue of the Elaians is mentioned in an epitaph (VR, 78) from the Jewish catacombs of the Via Appia (Πατὴρ ἡμῶν πατὴρ συναγωγῆς Ἐλαίας), and in one found in the catacomb of Vigna Cimarra (VR, 123: . . . συναγωγῆς Ἐλαίας). Schürer (II, p. 524) interpreted this title as meaning 'the synagogue of the olive-garden' by analogy with the 'synagogue of the vineyard' of Sepphoris mentioned in the Talmud. Garrucci suggested that the synagogue was named from the prophet Elijah; Berliner, p. 64, proposed to take Elaiā as a mere phonetic corruption of Velia, the Roman district beyond the Palatine. According to S. Reinach (*Rev. Études Juives*, XII, 1886, p. 239) the Jews of this Roman synagogue originated in the Jewish colony of Elaea in Mysia, which even today is called "Castle of the Jews" (in Turkish, Tschifout-Kalessi). Juster, I, p. 415. To these could be added the synagogue of Calabria, if Vaccaro's reading of Müller, 142 be accepted. The synagogue of the Vernaculi also, besides its social aspect, had the character of an ethnical subdivision, being formed by Jewish slaves born in Rome in the houses of their owners (Krauss, p. 253).

while still others perhaps represented divergencies in belief or practice, as may have been the case with the synagogue of the Herodians,²⁵ or were groups having special traditions, as in the case of the synagogue of the Hebrews.²⁶ Undoubtedly this

²⁵ The synagogue of the Herodians is mentioned in only one inscription (VR, 124: ... γωγῆς Ἱεροδίων), and at first the reading Ῥοδίων proposed by Garrucci (*Dissertazioni arch.*, II, p. 85) was accepted, and was interpreted as meaning 'the synagogue of the Rhodians.' The reading Ἱεροδίων is now commonly accepted. It was thus a synagogue which took its name from that of Herod.

²⁶ The synagogue of the Hebrews is mentioned in various inscriptions: VR, 98 (Γάδια πατὴρ συναγωγῆς Αἰβρέων); VR, 38 (refers to the same person, called simply πατὴρ τῶν Ἑβρέων); Müller, 14 (Γελάσις ἐξάρχων τῶν Ἑβρέων); Müller, 50 (Ἰσιδώρα θυγάτηρ ἀρχ. Ἑβρέων). According to Schürer (III, p. 83) it was a synagogue of Aramaic-speaking Jews, and Deissmann (*Licht vom Osten*, p. 9) remarks that a synagogue of the same name was to be found in Corinth. Derenbourg (*Mélanges Rénier*, pp. 439 ff.) thought it was a synagogue of Samaritans mentioned later by Cassiodorus (*Variae*, iii. 45). Müller and Cassuto agreed with Schürer. Juster suggests that the name Hebraeus was used in a general ethnical sense, after the name Judaeus had begun to acquire a disparaging connotation in Rome. But, as Vaccaro remarks, "this happened, by confession of Juster himself, not before the sixth century, and the inscriptions of Monteverde are in any case not later than the fourth century" (NBAC, 1917, p. 44). Vaccaro, however, admits that "perhaps the term Hebrew has an ethnical connotation, in contrast to Ἰουδαῖος," but "based, at least remotely, on the ancient separation of the ten tribes from the kingdom of Judah. This distinction appears still in the New Testament." Müller's editors accept the explanation of the Aramaic-speaking group, but add that it had the character of a "landsmannschaftliche Organisation" (p. 24).

It will do no harm to add to these various hypotheses one more, which seems to me the simplest. If, as seems probable, the Jewish colony of Rome existed before Pompey's conquest, it, like all others, must have been at the beginning very small, a few individuals and families, either Palestinians or of various origin. The first synagogue which they organized was also, for some time, the only one in Rome. That it assumed the name of Synagogue 'of the Hebrews,' and was known as such by the people, can be easily understood. When the Jewish community grew in size and other groups and other synagogues were established, the old synagogue retained its earlier name, and was probably the object of special consideration, and to belong to it a title of honor. It is, moreover, possible that this synagogue had conservative traditions even in language. The inscription of Isidora daughter of the archon of the synagogue of the Hebrews is one of the very few bilingual (Greek-Aramaic) epitaphs found in Monteverde. A. Vaccaro has called attention also to the interesting detail that in the inscription of Macedonios (Müller, 118; 2nd or 3rd cent. after Christ), who is called Αἰβρέος and came from Caesarea in Palestine, the phrase *μνία [μενία] δικαίου εἰς εὐλογίαν*, is a quotation from Proverbs 10, 7, according to the version of Aquila (also VR, 7); while in other inscriptions found in the Jewish catacombs (as for instance Cimarra: VR, 132) the same quotation is given according to the LXX *μνήμη δικαίου σὺν ἐγκωμίῳ* (with slight variations in other inscriptions). Evidently both versions were used in Roman Jewry, but Aquila's version, not because it was "more literal and less favorable to the Christians," as Vaccaro says (p. 43), but because it was

classification of synagogues on the basis of their names alone is only a guess, but in the light of the general situation of immigrant groups in Rome it is not entirely without foundation. Some of the names are puzzling, especially that of the Sekeni.²⁷ The others, which suggest a definite meaning and originally expressed the peculiar character of each group, probably lost with time the original connotation and became merely traditional titles having no bearing on the nature of the institutions or constituency from which their members were recruited.

Professional corporations composed exclusively of Jews must have existed in Rome, but it does not seem that they always assumed the form of a synagogue as in the case of the *synagoga Calcarensium*. Late in the third century a 'corpus naviculo-

based on the accepted traditional interpretation of the text as developed in the schools of the Tannaim, was preferred by the conservative Jews who were more under the influence of the rabbinical schools of Palestine.

²⁷ The synagogue of the Sekeni appears in the inscription (Paribeni, NS, 1920, 19): *Αδιούρω* [Adiutor] *γραμματεὺς Σεκήνων*, for which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered. It has been suggested that the word may be, like *Τριπολιτειῶν*, the name of a place, but no identification of it as such has been made. Professor H. A. Wolfson remarks: "Two possible explanations of *Σεκήνων* may be suggested:

(a) It may be identified with a place in Galilee north of Jotapata called in the Talmud by a name variously written as סִכְנִיָּא *Sikenaya* or *Sekaneya*, סִכְנִין *Siknin* or *Suknin*, סִגְנָא *Signa*. Although in Josephus the name is given as *Σωγάνη* (Vita 51; cf. A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 204), it is not impossible that there were as many ways of writing it in Greek as in Aramaic.

(b) It may be a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew זִקְנִים, 'Zekenim,' 'Elders.' It is not impossible that among the Palestinian Jews in Rome the *γερονσία* was called by its Hebrew name *Zekenim*. Accordingly, the words in the inscription are to be translated either 'secretary of the elders' or 'secretary of the synagogue of the elders.'"

If this latter interpretation be accepted, was the *γραμματεὺς Σεκήνων* in the Jewish community something analogous to the 'Secretarium Senatus' mentioned in CIL. VI, 1718? But Professor G. F. Moore informs me that there is no mention elsewhere of such an office in the Jewish community (yet see Krauss, pp. 150 f.) and that according to L. Baeck (Die Phariseer, Berlin, 1927, n. 89) the word *γραμματεὺς* as found in the Jewish Roman inscriptions means only 'a teacher of the Bible.' As to the former of the two interpretations Professor Moore observes that "as the name of a place *Siknin* in Galilee would perhaps be everybody's first guess. It seems to have been, if not a Nazarene village, a village in which there were disciples of Jesus the Nazarene. It is inferable from the Talmud (Gittin 57a) that the place was destroyed under circumstances that left a memory, perhaps in the war under Hadrian, certainly after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. But one may doubt whether people from this place were numerous enough in Rome to constitute a group (or a synagogue) of their own."

rum Judaeorum' is mentioned in Rome as in the service of the annona Aegypti.²⁸ The religious character of the gentile professional colleges made it impossible for Jews to belong to them; but whether such trade associations, if organized among the Jews, would have been deemed by the Roman law to be like all other collegia and therefore not to be established without a special permit or license, we do not know. It is likely that when they did not form a special synagogue by themselves, these corporations, or their members individually, were connected with one of the established synagogues.²⁹ It is known, for instance, that in Alexandria the corporations of Jewish workers were connected with the Great Synagogue.

The tendency to form special synagogues of Jews who had come to Rome from the same city of the diaspora has not received due attention from the students of Jewish institutions in Rome under the empire. The synagogue of the Jews from Tripolis and that of the Jews from Elaea (in Mysia), the only ones of this sort clearly mentioned in the inscriptions, show that a need was felt of forming smaller groups according to regional affinities, with the purpose of maintaining local traditions while remaining within the larger national community. This peculiarity, it seems to me, is not without importance, for it affords a specific evidence of the composite character of the Roman Jewish community. Palestinian Jews were undoubtedly present in large numbers, and it is likely that the most conservative tendencies and an extreme attachment to the Jewish national traditions were prominent among some of

²⁸ Juster, I, p. 486; II, p. 264.

²⁹ Juster suggests that "beaucoup d'artisans juifs ne se groupaient pas séparément, mais avec leurs confrères non-juifs, en évitant seulement les cérémonies religieuses de la corporation" (I, p. 487). It is rather difficult to understand what could have been the activities of collegia in which Jews could participate when the ceremonies having a religious character or connections were eliminated. Until they became organs of the state, the corporations had merely a social religious character and a funerary purpose, and since the Jews could not take part in their celebrations or their banquets (see Moore, II, p. 75), and since the Jewish community secured funerals and burial for the poor, it does not seem that a Jew had anything to gain by becoming a member of a pagan trade-association or college. When the corporations came under the full control of the state, the situation changed, but by that time the Jews under the Christian emperors began to be subjected in many things to special regulations.

them; but among others, and especially in some groups of hellenistic Jews who had come to Rome from the great centres of the diaspora, and who, even if at times less numerous, were certainly no less influential, the liberal currents of hellenistic Judaism in their extreme form were also well represented. From the most conservative circles, such as was perhaps the Synagogue of the Hebrews, to the circles more deeply affected by the gentile environment, such as was perhaps the Synagogue of the Herodians, the various tendencies and schools within Judaism met in Rome, whither Jews flocked from all parts and the most famous Jewish teachers came to teach for longer or shorter periods, and where the division and subdivision of the community into groups offered large opportunities for the coexistence and perpetuation of divergent tendencies and interpretations of the common tradition.³⁰ It may fairly be assumed that Roman Judaism was representative of the whole of Judaism, and so it is not surprising that all its internal religious and class differences, which assumed an especially disturbing form at the time of the appearance of Christianity, considerably affected the life of the Roman Jewish community.

The very organization of the synagogues, and much more the way in which the central government of the whole Jewish community in Rome was constituted, show traces of the influence of the peculiar structure of the community itself. There is no doubt that the synagogues in Rome were organized in the same

³⁰ On the various tendencies in Judaism and their development see Moore, I, pp. 48 ff., *Historical Introduction*, chapters iv-vi. Furthermore, from the first century after Christ, "of the old social cleavage between the rich and powerful and the poor and oppressed much less is heard," but "the new division is between the class who are instructed in their religion and scrupulous in the performance of its obligations, and the ignorant and negligent masses" (Moore, II, p. 157). One of the consequences of this division was that the punctilious Jews formed associations of their own with special regulations. As Moore remarks (II, pp. 156-161, 'Relations of Social Classes'), "in all sects, and in every ecclesiola in ecclesia, it is the peculiarities in doctrine, observance, or piety, that are uppermost in the minds of the members; what they have in common with the great body is no doubt taken for granted, but, so to speak, lies in the sectarian subconsciousness" (p. 161). That in Rome, the meeting-place of Jews from many lands, these characteristics could not be absent is obvious, and thus the explanation given above for the names of some Roman synagogues is not unwarranted by facts in view of the general conditions of Judaism in that period.

fashion as elsewhere, with an 'archisynagogus' at the head and minor officers for the various religious duties and other services.³¹ It seems also that there was in Rome a supreme council, the *γερονσία*, and executive councils of 'archontes.' But though the organization of the synagogues, as well as of the community as a whole, was everywhere much the same, in the various localities the titles of the officers, or the offices corresponding to the various titles, were often different, or subject to modification, either in form or meaning. It was natural that in adopting the Greek language the Jews of the hellenistic diaspora should adopt the Greek nomenclature of the associations, and this included a great variety of terms in different places. The Jewish inscriptions of Rome supply an unusually long list of offices and titles for functions in connection with either the synagogues or the central government of the community.³² Some of these were undoubtedly synonyms, and applied to the same office or function in the various synagogues and probably also at various dates. But it would seem that the whole nomenclature adopted by the Jews in the various localities of the diaspora was in use in the Jewish community of Rome, and it is possible that the difference in terms pertained to the tradition of the various groups.

Furthermore, several of these titles were either inherited in certain families or merely honorary distinctions, bestowed in some cases upon little children, as, for instance, upon Sikoulos Sabeinos, *μελλάρχων* of the Volumnians, who died at the age of two years and ten months.³³ The archons were usually elected every year, but in Rome we find archons *διὰ βίου* ³⁴;

³¹ For the organization of the synagogues in general see Moore, I, pp. 289 ff.

³² The following list may be incomplete and does not attempt to rank the offices in their hierarchical order: *ἐξάρχων*, *γερονσιάρχης*, *ἐλεροσάρχης*, *προστάτης*, *archon altiorinis*, *ἄρχων πάσης τῆς τιμῆς* (*archon pases tessimen*), *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, *ἄρχων*, *προάρχων*, *μελλάρχων*, *πρεσβύτες*, *ιερεῖς*, *διδάσκαλος*, *νομμαβής*, *γραμματεὺς*, *μελλογραμματεὺς*, *ὑπερέτης*, *πατὴρ συναγωγῆς*, *patronus*, and even *ἱέρισα*, and *mater synagogae*. This complicated terminology has given rise to endless discussion, for which see Juster, I, pp. 403, 404, and 440 ff., and the literature there quoted.

³³ Müller, 106; VR, 5, 176, and *ἄρχων νήπιος*, 11 (a child eight years old).

³⁴ Müller, 108, 175; VR, 35 (in these last two inscriptions the peculiar spelling *Ζάβιος* instead of *διὰ βίου* is used); VR, 120, 110, and 183, in which the formula is latinized as 'iabius.' (VR, p. 45). The question of the archons in Roman Judaism is

we find 'patres' and 'patroni' of the synagogues as in the pagan collegia, and even an old Roman lady, Beturia Paulina, who became a proselyte when seventy years old, assumed the name of Sara, was made 'mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni,' and died at the age of eighty-six.³⁵ It is evident that the environment was not without its influence on this multiplication of offices and honorary titles in the Jewish synagogues and councils. Even the smallest Greek *θιασοι* and Roman collegia tenuiorum paraded an imposing list of officers and dignitaries to satisfy the naïve ambition of their members and protectors, and it is not surprising that the Jews yielded to the same temptation. But it is important to notice that the composite character of the Jewish community of Rome, in which Judaism was represented in all its aspects and forms, is manifest even in this detail.

Still more important is the question of the central organization of the community. Little indeed is known about it, and it has even been held that there was no such organization in the Roman Jewry, and that the various synagogues were not bound together by any central authority. But the evidence of the inscriptions leaves no doubt of the existence in imperial

typical of the variety of traditions in the offices of the synagogues and the Jewish community. In the inscriptions names occur of (a) archons who do not appear to have been connected with any synagogue (were they archons at large, representing the whole community?); (b) archons of special synagogues; (c) archons elected every year, archons elected twice (*δὲς ἀρχων*), and archons for life (*διὰ βίου*); (d) child-archons or aspirant archons (the inscription VR, 5, in which the father is a supreme archon, *ἀρχων πάσης τῆς τειμῆς*, and the child is a "mellarchon" suggests the possibility that there was an hereditary archonate in certain families; (e) archons who are at the same time 'patres' of synagogues, and even an archon who is also archisynagogus (VR, 181, "Stafulo arconti et archisynagogo honoribus omnibus functus [*sic*]"); (f) archons of the high order ("alti ordinis," Müller, 1), and archons of the whole community ("pases tessimen").

³⁵ VR, 152. What the office was of the 'pater synagogae' is a controverted point. In the late fourth century it was the title of regular officers who as such enjoyed the immunities (Cod. Theod. xvi. 8, 4; Juster, I, p. 406, n. 3, and p. 448). At that date they were probably identical with the presbyteri. But in some inscriptions it seems rather to be an honorary title given to old men who had retired from other offices in the community: VR, 29, Pancharius formerly a gerusiarcha; 52, Julianus formerly archisynagogus. VR (p. 43) think that the patres synagogae took charge of the poor-relief. That 'mater synagogae' was an honorary title seems to be certain, as is obvious also for the title of 'patronus' (Juster, I, pp. 436 ff.).

times of officers for the whole Jewish community.³⁶ On general grounds a central organ of government coördinating the activities of the several synagogues, supervising the general administration, and having definite authority in financial and juridical matters, can not have been lacking in Rome. Such an institution was in keeping with the general system of Jewish community-organization in the Graeco-Roman world. In Alexandria, where the Jewish community was very large, rich, and influential in the political and economic life of the city, and where it was confronted with the stubborn hostility of the gentile population, often giving rise to riots and bloody tumults, the Jewish central organization gradually assumed the form of a personal government of one man, the ethnarch. It was an elective office that concentrated in one hand supreme authority over the whole community.

In the Roman Jewry no such development took place. Though there may have been a supreme head of the community, he does not seem ever to have been more than a presiding officer. The authority always remained in the hands of the council, or councils, which represented the various Jewish groups or synagogues. What prevented the institution among the Roman Jews of a central power in monarchical form, as in Alexandria, is not difficult to surmise. Not only the government by a council was more in keeping with the tradition of the diaspora, but political prudence, and not improbably the disapproval of the imperial government, made it inadvisable to put supreme power in the community into the hands of an individual, and all the more because the central authority had in certain cases both civil and criminal jurisdiction over its members. But apart from these motives, the actual character of the Jewish community would have made impossible

³⁶ Such may have been Lucius Mecius archon alti ordinis (Müller, 1); Ermogenes (Müller, 132), and Alexandros (VR, 5), both archons πάσης τῆς τειμῆς, and Ionata (VR, 146) 'archon pases tessimen.' Whether such were also the officers styled 'exarchon' (Caius Furfanius Iulianus exarchon [Müller, 11] and Gelasis ἐξάρχων τῶν Αἰβρῶν) is not clear. In late times we know that the provincial head of a Jewry was called ἐξάρχος (Cod. Theod., xvi. 8, 2), which according to Juster was the Greek form for 'primates.' But the fact that in these Roman inscriptions the word used is ἐξάρχων and 'exarchon,' makes their identification with the ἐξάρχος very doubtful.

the concentration of power in one hand. As has been stated above, the Roman Jewry was by no means a homogeneous body; it included immigrants from various cities of the diaspora as well as a large number of Jews from Palestine or of recent Palestinian origin. Conflicting tendencies and interpretations of law and tradition, and rivalries of groups, had a surer guarantee under the government of a representative council than under a personal power.

The unity, however, of the Jewish community as a whole is also apparent from the fact that the Jewish cemeteries did not belong to any particular synagogue but were the property of the whole community.³⁷ There is unmistakable evidence of this fact in the epigraphic material found in the catacombs.

³⁷ The ancient Jewish Roman cemeteries known at present are the following six:

- (1) On the Appian Way (vigna Randanini), discovered and illustrated by R. Garucci, *Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, Rome, 1862: *Dissertazioni archeologiche*, Rome, 1865, II, pp. 159-192; various articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, ser. III, vols. III, VI; see O. Marucchi, *Breve guida del cimitero giudaico in Vigna Randanini*, 1884, and *Le Catacombe Romane*, pp. 227 ff.
- (2) On the Appian Way (vigna Cimarra), described by De Rossi in *Bull. Arch. Cristiana*, 1867, pp. 16 ff.
- (3) On the Appian Way (Pignatelli road), illustrated by N. Müller, *Le Catacombe degli Ebrei*, in *Röm. Mitteil.*, 1886, pp. 49-56.
- (4) On the Via Labicana, discovered and illustrated by O. Marucchi, *Di un nuovo Cimitero giudaico*, Rome, 1884.
- (5) On the Via Portuensis (Monteverde), first discovered by A. Bosio in 1602, found again (and then forgotten) in 1740, and finally rediscovered by Müller in 1904; *Die jüdische Katakomba am Monteverde*, Leipzig, 1912; *Il Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei sulla Via Portuense*, in *Atti Pont. Acad. Rom. Arch.*, XII, 1916.
- (6) On the Via Nomentana (Villa Torlonia), found in 1920 and described by R. Paribeni, *NS*, 1920, pp. 143-155.

For the inscriptions see the bibliography given above, p. 351, Note 21. Unfortunately all these catacombs were found already broken into and plundered by robbers who had opened cubiculi and loculi in search of precious objects or antiquities. Most of the slabs were found in pieces and many inscriptions reduced to fragments. Extensive explorations were made only in the catacomb of the Appian Way (Randanini) and of the Via Portuensis (Monteverde). Only a few corridors were excavated in the cemetery of the Via Labicana. A large part of the catacombs of Monteverde are now inaccessible and practically destroyed by land-slides. The excavations on the Via Nomentana also have not been continued. Most of the material which we possess has come from the catacomb of the Appian Way (Randanini), which is still accessible, though inscriptions and sarcophagi were taken away, and from Monteverde.

The funerary inscriptions of the ordinary Jew do not as a rule mention the synagogue of which the deceased was a member, although the tombs of the officers in most cases mention the synagogue with which the officer was connected. Now the fact that we find officers of different synagogues buried in the same cemetery, and officers of the same synagogue buried in different cemeteries, shows that the Jews could choose their burial-place in any one of the cemeteries of the community.³⁸ At least in part these Jewish cemeteries are older than the Christian catacombs, and it seems that several were still in use as late as the fifth century after Christ. These were undoubtedly built on Jewish models, as their existence in pre-Christian times suggests, and in their architecture are not much dissimilar to the Christian catacombs. The main difference is the lack in the Jewish catacombs of such monumental crypts as in the Christian catacombs often decorated the tombs of famous martyrs, which at least from the third century were the object of worship among the Roman Christians. The Jewish cemeteries were merely burial-places, and no acts of worship or meetings ever took place in them. In this they stand in contrast to the practice of the Christians, at least in exceptional times.³⁹

³⁸ In Monteverde there are tombs of members of the following synagogues: Augusteans, Agrippians, Hebrews, Volumnians, Vernaculi, Calcarenses, Tripolitans. In the Appian Way (Randanini): Campesians, Syburesians, Herodians, and Augusteans. In the Appian Way (Cimarra): Volumnians, Elaeans. In the Appian Way (Pallavicini): Syburesians. In the Via Nomentana (Torlonia): Syburesians, Sekeni. It is interesting to notice that a good many inscriptions of high dignitaries of the community come from the catacomb of Vigna Cimarra, such as VR, 5, 113, 152, 181. That in general the various Jewish districts each used the nearest cemetery is a reasonable supposition, but evidently it was not always the case.

³⁹ Garrucci (*Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, pp. 14 ff.), starting from the remark (which is not altogether exact) that the Jews in Palestine did not have community cemeteries but only family tombs, often dug in the rock, denies that the Jews in Rome could have had catacombs for the community before the Christians set the example. Even Grossi-Gondi follows the same opinion (*I Monumenti cristiani iconografici ed architettonici dei sei primi secoli*, Rome, 1923, pp. 339 ff.), or at least denies any Jewish influence in the establishment of Christian cemeteries. It does not seem that such a theory is well grounded, and Leclercq's learned discussion (*Archéologie Chrétienne*, I, pp. 103 ff., 495 ff.) leaves no doubt on this point. The Jews had been in Rome for more than two centuries before Christianity began its propaganda in the capital; they had organized their community and their synagogues under the protection of the law which granted them religious freedom and the privileges thereon consequent. Inasmuch as among the

In the cemetery on the Via Appia (Randanini) a few sarcophagi were found, but there, as well as in the other Jewish catacombs, most of the inscriptions are not engraved on marble slabs. In general the cubicles were closed by tiers of bricks covered with cement, and on it the inscription was more or less roughly scrawled in red.⁴⁰ It thus seems that those who sought burial in those catacombs were mostly of modest means; the prosperous Roman Jews followed the old custom of providing that after death their bodies should be carried to Palestine and buried there. The few inscriptions, apart from those of officers of the synagogues or of the community, which mention the social condition or occupation of the deceased confirm this impression. The inscriptions themselves are usually very short, often awkward in style and containing an unusually large number of grammatical faults and misspelled words. Most of the inscriptions are in Greek, but some are in Latin, others in Greek written with Latin letters or vice versa, or even in mixed Greek and Latin letters. Very few are in the Hebrew language, but Hebrew or Aramaic words are several times found at the top or bottom of the inscriptions.

Jews from ancient times "the unwritten law about the burial of the neglected dead was regarded as a duty of the highest obligation, as it is in rabbinical law" (Moore, I, p. 71), it is impossible to conceive that the Jewish community of Rome left its dead poor to be thrown into the puticuli, and did not from the beginning and as part of its regular organization provide community cemeteries. That Jewish catacombs began before Christian ones is beyond doubt. Like many other institutions of the immigrants they were the result of local circumstances which obliged foreign groups who wished to keep customs and traditions of their own in a new environment to have recourse to new devices and create new institutions in order to maintain the traditional ones (see above, p. 273). That the origin of the Christian catacombs is different from that of the Jewish is true, for the Christians began by using the hypogaea of old families, but, as Leclercq remarks (p. 120), we must distinguish between the early Christian cemeteries, which may be called 'apostolic,' and the later cemeteries. In gradually transforming the former into the latter the church followed the model of the Jewish cemeteries. After all, did not the church inherit from Judaism the doctrine of resurrection, and with it the respect and care of the dead? Moore, II, pp. 393 f.

⁴⁰ A similar system of closing the cubicles with tiles and cement and writing the inscription in red on the cement is not infrequent in the Christian catacombs and is found extensively used in coemeterium Jordanorum on the Via Salaria, discovered in 1922 and described by E. Josi in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*. For the peculiar features of Jewish cemeteries in general, see articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* ('Tombs' by S. Krauss), *Protestantische Real-encyclopädie*, ('Kömeterien' by Müller), and H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*, I, pp. 495-528.

The Jewish symbols of the candelabrum with seven arms, the palm-branch ('lulab'), the citron ('etrog'), the 'shofar,' and other symbols are often found on the cement or on the slabs of Jews' tombs. Furthermore in the cemeteries of the Appian Way (Randanini) and of the Via Nomentana decorations occur such as are commonly found in pagan tombs — animals, birds, and even mythological figures. Of two sarcophagi found in the same place one was richly carved with Jewish symbols, the other decorated with sculptures representing mythological groups. But the latter was of pagan origin, and had also been used by a Christian before it came into possession of the Jews. The central figure, probably the portrait of the first pagan owner, had been blotted out and replaced by the Jewish candelabrum.⁴¹

For the purposes of this study all these details have a certain importance because they show how far, under the influence of the Roman environment, the Jews modified some of their traditional customs and adapted themselves to their new surroundings. Sepulchral chambers dug in the rocks were common in Palestine, but large underground cemeteries, obviously not restricted to a family but open to all the members of a community, were the product of the circumstances in which the Jews found themselves in Rome and in other western cities. Their religious laws and their abhorrence of cremation, which in the Latin world at the beginning of the empire had in large measure superseded the old system of inhumation, obliged the Jews to have cemeteries of their own, the property of the community, open to all its members and protected against all possible defilement from pagan burials.⁴² The old system of loculi

⁴¹ On these decorations, paintings, and sculptures in the Jewish catacombs, besides the descriptions in the monographs quoted above, see Garrucci, *Arte Cristiana*, VI, pp. 156 ff.

⁴² It seems, however, that traces of community cemeteries, though rare, are not entirely lacking in Palestine and are mentioned in rabbinic sources (S. Klein, *Tod und Begräbnis in Palästina zur Zeit der Tannaiten*, 1908), but the establishment of them was probably due to the influence of the custom prevailing in the diaspora. Thus the custom of sending the bones of rich Jews who had died abroad to Palestine to be buried there led to the formation of a central cemetery at Jaffa, discovered by Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, transl. by J. McFarlane, 1899, II, pp. 131 ff.; Juster, I, p. 478). Juster remarks emphatically:

in superimposed rows, which was not Jewish and was not unusual in ancient Italy, was adopted by the Jews, who thus created the type of the catacombs, or large underground community-cemeteries dug in the rock. A concession to the environment was also the use of symbols, and still more that of decorations. It would seem that among the Roman Jews the biblical condemnation of all "graven and molten images" had lost its awe-inspiring absoluteness to such a degree that even mythological figures could find a place on Jewish tombs. An inscription mentions a Jewish painter of animals (ζῳγραφος) in Rome by the name of Eudoxios.⁴³ Although it may seem an exaggeration to speak of a Jewish type of art in Rome merely on the ground of these samples of decoration found in the catacombs, yet the very fact that the Jews adopted certain forms of funerary art from their Roman environment is significant of the changes in their state of mind under local influences.

"On a dit à tort, que l'usage des cimetières fut introduit, dans le monde antique, par les Juifs," and he may be right, but it is not possible to deny that it was in the Jewish communities of the diaspora that this institution assumed its typical and distinctive forms. It may be true that not all the Jewish groups of the diaspora necessarily had cemeteries of their own, and that where there were such cemeteries it was only the burial of the poor and neglected dead which was at the charge of the community; but it cannot be denied that there is a substantial difference between the origin and character of the Jewish cemeteries and those of the pagan associations and funerary societies. The very facts that the Jewish cemeteries were open to all the members of the community, irrespective of their membership in this or that synagogue, and that the funeral expenses were at the charge of the families who could afford to pay, while for the poor there was a special fund to draw from, differentiate them from the burial-grounds or columbaria of the collegia, where only the members were admitted and the expenses were regularly charged to the common fund. The Jewish cemeteries developed with the growth of the Jewish community into extensive catacombs whose care was entrusted to the government of the community; the latter remained small private burial-places and disappeared when the associations — as often happened after a short period of existence — were dissolved. But, as is stated above, the importance of the burial-grounds of the synagogues lies rather in the fact that from them the church derived, in part at least, its cemeterial policy.

⁴³ VR, 30. On the decorations and artistic representations found in great quantity in other Jewish cemeteries and tombs outside Rome (as well as, for instance, in Africa and Palmyra) see Leclercq, *Arch. Chrét.*, I, pp. 122 ff., also Appendix II, 'L'Art et les cimetières Juifs,' pp. 495-528, and articles in DACL, 'Gamart,' etc.

The Jewish community not only took care of the burial of the poor Jews but provided assistance for them in life. In an environment like Rome, where beggars and adventurers of all kinds gathered from the four corners of the world, and where thousands of Jews were brought as slaves, there was certainly a large opportunity for the exercise of Jewish charity toward their own people.⁴⁴ Mutual assistance was so highly developed among them as to impress the Romans, and Latin writers mention it, although the satirical poets took pleasure in pointing out that Jewish charity was liberal only towards the Jews and had a heart of stone for others. In the fourth century after Christ the Jews appear to have possessed numerous hospices of their own, but this provision probably did not exist in the second century, when the Jewish community of Rome seems not to have been noteworthy for wealth and prosperity.

The great Jewish financial centre was Alexandria, where alabarchs and bankers had piled up immense fortunes. The Jewish community at Rome had its rapid growth chiefly from the thousands of prisoners of war, and it could not compare in wealth with the older Jewish colonies of merchants and business men at Alexandria or Cyrene. The Jewish prisoners brought to Rome and employed in public works, or herded in the schools of gladiators, or sold to private families, even if they succeeded in gaining their freedom, could not so easily climb high in the financial world. In fact, we find no mention of rich Roman Jews who could make princely gifts to the temple while it stood, like Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria in the first century, who covered the doors of the temple with gold and silver,

⁴⁴ See Moore's exhaustive treatment of the subject in the chapter on Private and Public Charity, II, pp. 162-179. According to the system which was well established at the end of the second century "in each municipality two collectors were appointed, men of unimpeachable probity. . . . They made their rounds together every Friday to the market and the shops and to private houses, taking up the weekly collection for charity in money or in kind." "The distribution . . . was made also on Fridays by a commission of three members" (pp. 174 f.). "Upon the community fell also the support of orphan children." "For the burial of the poor provision was made from the public funds, and also for ransom of captives, an obligation to which every other was postponed. For these extraordinary expenses special collections were made" (pp. 175 f.). "To the collections for public charities all were required to contribute in the measure of their ability and of the current or occasional need" (p. 178).

or his contemporary Nicanor, who gave to the same temple a wonderful door of Corinthian bronze. Nor do we find mention of rich Roman Jews who could lend large sums of money to cities or private individuals, like the same Alexander or the alabarch Demetrius. Josephus speaks of wealthy Jews of Puteoli, of Crete, Cyrene, and Melos, but no names of Roman Jews appear on the list.⁴⁵ On the contrary the Roman sources state that the poor were numerous in the Roman Jewish community and that beggary was common.⁴⁶

But neither the disparaging tone of the satirists nor the poverty of the Jewish cemeteries justifies the assumption that Roman Jewry was a community of beggars and that no well-to-do class was present among them. This evidence proves only that the community was not so prosperous as others, or as it was itself in the fourth century, when the emperor Julian could praise the Roman Jews for having no mendicity among them.

The occupations of the great masses of the Jews in Rome were much like those of the rest of the populace. Down to the third century the commercial activities of the community seem to have been rather limited.⁴⁷ In Palestine itself the importa-

⁴⁵ In many places, such as Ascalon, Alexandria, Mantinea, Syracuse, rich Jews are mentioned who at their own private expense built or adorned synagogues or made large gifts to them; but nothing is said about Rome, where the synagogues were built and supported by the groups or by the Jewish community.

⁴⁶ This may be an exaggeration, but undoubtedly in a city like Rome, where there were no large industries and servile labor was predominant, the large crowds of Jews who through their own efforts or the charity of their brethren passed from slavery to freedom must have found it difficult to make a living. Furthermore, the traditional teaching of the Jews that "men should make every effort not to become a public charge" (Moore, II, p. 177), and that the most repugnant employment is honorable if it earns a living (according to the saying of Rab: "Skin the carcass of a dead beast in the market place for hire, and do not say, I am a great man, it is beneath my dignity"), made the Jews of Rome ready to enter the humblest occupations which to the Romans would have seemed mere beggary. The passage of Martial about the Jewish peddling of matches in exchange for broken glass is well known (Epigr. xii. 57; S. Reinach protests against the usual interpretation, *Textes*, p. 289). Sham beggars, however, were not lacking among the Jews ("a matre doctus rogare Judaeus," Martial, *ibid.*), and the severe denunciation of such practices uttered by Jewish teachers (Moore, II, p. 177) shows the existence of the evil.

⁴⁷ Against the common opinion that in the early centuries of the empire the Jews were already prominent as traders, and that they were included in the general denomination of "mercatores Syri," Juster holds that "dans le commerce le nombre de Juifs n'avait

tion and exportation of products remained in the hands of foreign merchants until the time of the Hadrianic war. At that time the great misery and destitution of the province caused the foreign merchants to withdraw from that field, which no longer held the promise of large profits; when conditions improved their places were taken by Jews. Even the great commerce in slaves between the East and the West, which in the fourth century after Christ came to be almost monopolized by Jewish merchants, was in the hands of others in the centuries preceding.

The great mass, then, of the Jewish population of Rome was made up of laborers and small tradesmen. The lime-kiln workers and carriers must have been numerous, since they formed a special synagogue in Rome and one also in Porto. Many Jews kept shops for Jewish consumers, especially of foodstuffs and eatables prepared according to the ritual law.⁴⁸ Other important groups were doubtless formed by Jewish workers in certain industries in which the Jews were proficient, as for instance those of glass-making, weaving, and dyeing. We know also that some Roman Jews followed with success the career of the stage and that some indulged in literary pursuits.⁴⁹

A great institution of religious education in Judaism was the school.⁵⁰ The public schools gradually provided for the capital by the Roman emperors were in practice reserved for the children of the well-to-do or of the middle class. The principle of universal public education is a modern discovery. Among the Jews, however, the obligation and "the endeavor to educate the whole people in its religion created a unique system of universal education, whose very elements comprised not only reading and writing, but an ancient language and its classic literature. The high intellectual and religious value thus set

d'abord rien d'exagéré. Jamais un auteur païen ne les caractérisa comme marchands, jamais à l'époque païenne ces deux notions — Juif et marchand — ne vont ensemble comme de soi-même." The trouble is that "on a transporté à l'antiquité des idées qu'on avait acquises par l'étude du Moyen-Âge" (II, p. 313).

⁴⁸ For instance, VR, 143: Alexander buclarius de macello.

⁴⁹ Juster, II, p. 309.

⁵⁰ Moore, I, pp. 308-322, 'The Schools.'

on education was indelibly impressed on the mind, and one may say on the character of the Jew, and the institutions created for it have perpetuated themselves to the present day.”⁵¹ In the communities of the diaspora the school was the necessary complement of the synagogue, which depended upon it for the maintenance of the religious spirit and traditions. Having provided themselves with Greek translations of the Scriptures, they used this version in their synagogues and schools, emancipating themselves from the task of learning ancient Hebrew, but even in the communities of hellenized Jews, or at least in the larger ones, advanced schools existed in which scholarly traditions and rabbinical learning were perpetuated.

We know little of the schools of the Roman Jewish community. A considerable number of inscriptions mention Jewish teachers in Rome, but we read among them no names otherwise known for eminence in learning or for productive scholarship. Many famous Jewish teachers and great leaders of Jewish schools came to Rome on various occasions, but Rome never became a centre of Jewish learning, never created a Roman Jewish school which played any part in the great work of Jewish legal exegesis, in the codification and explanation of the unwritten tradition, or in the development of Jewish scholarship.⁵² Like the early Christian community, the Jewish community of Rome may have been the scene of lively controversies among divergent tendencies and traditions, but it contributed little or nothing to speculative thought. If we had to judge the state of culture of the Jewish community of Rome from the inscriptions found in the cemeteries, the impression would be a low one, but, as has been said above, the epigraphic evidence cannot be taken as representing the cultural conditions of the community any more than its economic level.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁵² VR, I, pp. 92-112, have gathered all the fragmentary information available on the Jewish schools and cultural life at Rome. When hypothetical assumptions are eliminated, very little remains to enable the reader to pass a judgment upon the intellectual life of the Jewish community in the period in question.

VII

THE PRIVILEGES OF THE JEWS AND THE OFFICIAL CULTS;
JEWISH PROSELYTISM IN ROME

WITH the Jews, even more than with other immigrant groups in Rome, the relations with the mother country formed an important element in their lives, for in their case these relations were not dependent on mere sentiment or individual choice, but on national duty identified with religious expectations and on fixed regulations which were an integral part of the Jewish law. Rome could become to all other immigrants a new and great religious centre; but to the Jews Jerusalem was the one and only sacred city, destined to rule the world in the days, attested by prophetic promises and popular apocalypses, when salvation and triumph over every enemy would be the destiny of Israel, the chosen people. Whether Palestine were ruled by Jewish kings or Roman governors, whether religious authority were represented by the temple or by the schools, the Jews of Rome, like all the faithful Jews of the diaspora, paid their tribute to the temple as long as it stood, and after its fall contributed to the support of their national institutions in Palestine;¹ they received with due honor all representatives of the

¹ The contributions to the temple were sent to Jerusalem under the official protection of the Roman government. After the fall of the temple Vespasian obliged the Jews to pay the tribute into the imperial treasury, but private contributions to Jerusalem continued to be sent by Jews. With the establishment of the Jewish patriarchate the contributions again assumed a legal character, since the right was granted to the patriarchs to collect the 'aurum coronarium' and tithes and first-fruits from all the Jews. Mention of this law is first found in the fourth century, but there is no doubt that the institution was much older. It was, however, a personal privilege of the patriarch, and when with the extinction of Hillel's family the patriarchate was suppressed, the contribution also ceased. The 'archiferecita' whom the Jews set up as their head had no legal standing, although probably he too received private offerings from the Jewish communities; but from that time on most of the Jews began to consider the exilarch of Babylon as the supreme leader of Judaism. On the patriarchate and its jurisdiction see Juster, I, pp. 391-400. It is interesting to notice that the Jewish patriarchate, established probably under Antoninus Pius and already fully organized at the end of the second century, was not a territorial monarch or the ruler of Palestine but the spiritual head of all the Jews of the empire. It was about the same time that the bishops of Rome began to assume the attitude of high spiritual leaders

central religious authority who came to Rome, whether teachers of renown, or apostles charged with the collection of contributions, or other functionaries sent for special purposes.²

How the Jewish Roman community was affected by the institution of the hereditary patriarchate in Palestine after the catastrophe of the rebellion under Hadrian, we do not know. Although the authority of the patriarchs had only a religious character, it included certain acts of jurisdiction which had a legal value, such as that of appointing the rulers of the Jewish communities throughout the empire, of collecting the tribute, and of passing judgment as a court of last instance on questions concerning the organization and administration of the Jewish institutions. There is no way of knowing whether or not the community of Rome enjoyed special privileges, or what attitude it assumed when the patriarchate began to decline, losing its ascendancy over the Jewish world at large, and was superseded as the guide of Jewish religious life by the doctors and teachers of the great schools.

But there is no doubt that throughout all its history for the first three centuries of the empire, the Jewish community of

in the Christian church. This coincidence is remarkable. Of this I shall treat in another study and in connection with the problem of the mutual relations between the Jewish and Christian communities in Rome in the second century.

² The representatives and emissaries of the patriarch, called 'apostles,' had the duty of bringing to the communities the message of their leader and of collecting the tribute. They visited the Jewish groups periodically, thus keeping up the contact between the rulers of the various synagogues and communities as well as with the religious centre of Judaism. Whether the Jewish apostles existed before the institution of the patriarchate or were established by the new government is a much debated question. They appear with this name only under the patriarchate. No doubt in the former period, even under the sanhedrin, the central religious authority of Jerusalem always kept in contact with the Jewish communities of the diaspora and more or less regularly sent them emissaries and messages. Whether these called were 'apostles,' so that this title passed from them to the Christian missionaries, or whether the title was adopted by the representatives of the patriarchal administration on the model of the Christian custom, is after all of little importance. It is probable, however, that the title of apostle was adopted first by the non-Christian Jews, although between the Jewish apostles of the first century and those of the patriarchal régime there was a considerable difference, at least in importance, if not in function. See art. 'Apostles' in JE. H. Monnier (*Notion de l'Apostolat*, Paris, 1903) held to the priority in time of the Christian apostles, but with no success. See A. von Harnack, *Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 2nd ed., I, p. 274.

Rome remained in close connection with the centre of Judaism. "The leaders of Palestinian Jewry took a great interest in the Roman community, and we read more than once of missions or visitations undertaken by them."³ The rabbinical school of Rome had received from Palestine its first teachers, and remained always in contact with the Palestinian schools. The relation of the Jewish schools in the various communities to those of Palestine "tended to bring the Jews in the diaspora into line with those of the home land. Not only was the traditional law as formulated and codified in those schools accepted as final authority, but their principles and methods were perpetuated and their work carried on by succeeding generations in the same spirit. In time the Babylonian schools outshone those of Palestine and were aware of it, but they remained true to the type which had been impressed on them at the beginning."⁴

We have very little information about the attitude adopted by the Jewish community of Rome during the Jewish wars. It must have gone through periods of embarrassment and anxiety which disturbed the normal activities of the synagogues, but as a whole the Jews of Rome seem to have avoided entanglement in the rebellions and to have remained calm, saving their privileges and traditions. There is no mention of severe measures of repression on the part of the government against the Roman Jews at the time when the imperial armies were burning the temple and slaughtering the people of Jerusalem, or when the rebellion of the Jews in the Cyrenaica and Egypt and in Cyprus was put down with vindictive severity under Trajan, or when, finally, after the massacres of the war under Hadrian, what was left of the Jews were banished from their holy city, and it was converted into a heathen Roman colony. The law against circumcision of course applied also to the Roman Jews until it was rescinded by Antoninus Pius, and restrictions on the right of association and the public activities of the community were imposed upon them during the critical years of the last Jewish rebellion; but it does not seem that the Jews of Rome, though so numerous, embarrassed the government

³ Moore, I, p. 106.

⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

during these periods or disturbed the peace, or suffered heavily for the rebellion of their countrymen in Palestine.

The juridical situation granted to the Jewish communities by the imperial government had after all the nature of a compromise in which Roman law in some measure departed from its usual logical method of juridical inference, as in the case of the Jews who acquired Roman citizenship. The privileges enjoyed by a Jew as a 'peregrinus,' by virtue of the national character of his religion, were supposed to cease as soon as he became a Roman citizen and so divested himself of his original nationality and climbed a step higher in the juridical and social hierarchy of classes in the empire. But in spite of this the Jewish immigrants, or their descendants, who became Roman citizens but kept their religion were allowed to keep also the privileges which went with it when practised by Jews. The juridical wisdom of Rome was ready to go as far as possible in its respect for the national religious traditions of a race which opposed stubborn resistance to all the influences by which the gradual ethnical fusion or the levelling policy of the empire might have led to its absorption. But there were two points, both of vital importance to Rome as well as to the Jews, on which a compromise was more difficult to reach: the worship of the emperor and Jewish proselytism. On these points the imperial government hesitated long between a policy of tolerance and one of restriction and repression. From the benevolent tolerance of Augustus⁵ to the expulsions under Tiberius,⁶

⁵ On the policy of Augustus and the emperors of the Julian house see especially Manfrin, I, pp. 215 ff. Philo in his *Legatio ad Caium* made an energetic appeal to the precedent established by the policy of Augustus towards the Jews: Otherwise he would not have allowed the Jews to inhabit a large ward of the capital in the Trastevere; and the greater part of them consisted of freedmen, prisoners of war later manumitted and free to live according to the national tradition. He was not ignorant that they had their own schools, in which they gathered especially on the Sabbath. He knew also that they used to send periodically to the temple of Jerusalem their tribute of money, the so called first-fruits, by special messengers who offered the victims. Yet he did not expel the Jews from the capital, did not deprive them of Roman citizenship, and took no steps against the religion and the communities of Palestine (ed. Mangey, II, 568 f.).

⁶ The decree of Tiberius which is mentioned not only by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3, 5) but also by Suetonius (*Tib.* 36) and Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85), no matter under what provocation it was issued, reënters upon the general policy of Tiberius, so hostile to all

the coercive measures of Caligula, and the renewed expulsions under Claudius, and from the new general grant of privileges by Claudius⁷ to the restrictions imposed by Domitian and later by Hadrian and Septimius Severus, the two main points on which friction arose were either the worship of the emperor or, and more often, proselytism. No difficulty arose on the question of the official cult of the Capitoline Triad, whom the Jews of Rome were not required to worship, just as in other cities the Jewish communities were not obliged to worship the patron divinity of the *πόλις*.⁸

As to the worship of the emperor, Juster is probably right in his contention that it is inaccurate to speak of the Jews as altogether dispensed from all its observances, for, at least in the eyes of the Roman law, their privilege related more to the form of the cult than to the cult itself. It seems that on this point the Jews had no difficulty in meeting half-way the require-

foreign cults. Juster, II, p. 170, suggests that those expelled from Rome were peregrini, while those exiled to Sardinia were Jews who were Roman citizens. But either the law was not enforced or else the Jews obeyed (according to Tacitus the Jews were to be expelled "*nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent*"), for a few years afterward, in the short reign of Caligula, there was again a large Jewish community in Rome. The case of Jews who under constraint took part in heathen ceremonies was not rare, as Philo himself states (*De spec. leg.* i. 8); the apostasy was only temporary, and readmission was not difficult to obtain (Juster, I, pp. 272-273).

⁷ On the circumstances which led Claudius to confirm the Jewish privileges, first as it seems to the Jews of Alexandria and then to all the Jews of the empire, see his letter to the Alexandrians recently discovered and the introduction of H. I. Bell (*Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 10 ff.), and the literature on the whole question of Claudius's edicts there referred to (note 1). Much ink has been wasted on the supposed general expulsion of Jews from Rome under Claudius mentioned in the famous passage of Suetonius (*Claud.* 25), and seemingly confirmed by Acts 18, 2. The prevailing opinion is that probably a few leaders in the tumults between Jews and Christians (?) were exiled (Clemen, Paulus, I, pp. 373 ff.), and that Claudius merely forbade Jewish meetings (*Dio Cass.* lx. 6, 6; Juster, I, p. 171), but there are still recent writers who insist on supposing a general expulsion of Jews under Claudius (A. Omodeo, Paolo di Tarso, 1922, p. 252).

⁸ Roman authority protected the Jews against those cities which tried to impose upon them the local official cult. Thus Caesar obliged the magistrates of Paros to revoke the measures taken on this account against the Jews of Delos (*Jos.*, *Ant.* xiv. 10, 8). The intruders who provoked disturbances in the synagogues during the meetings were guilty of '*atrox iniuria*,' and condemned to the mines, as happened to the slave Calistus, later bishop of Rome (Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, ix. 12).

ments of the Roman law, for they had only to follow the custom long established in several Jewish communities of the diaspora. But there was room for misunderstandings.

The Jews who lived within the boundaries of the oriental monarchies, where the worship of the sovereign was an essential part of the local religious and political organization, had found it necessary to adapt themselves to circumstances by a compromise which could not be construed as a denial of their exclusive monotheism and yet satisfied at least part of the requirements of the law. So when the worship of the emperor became the symbol of political loyalty to the Roman institutions, the Jews found no difficulty in adopting the less objectionable of its forms. From the time of Augustus and as long as the temple in Jerusalem stood, daily sacrifices in honor of, or for, the emperor were offered there at public expense. No doubt the Jews made a clear distinction between these sacrifices and those offered to Jehovah: they were not on the same plane; far from it. But neither could they be deemed like the simple sacrifices which every faithful Jew could offer for himself and his family.⁹ The Romans could interpret these sacrifices for the emperor as they wished, but to the Jews they were an offering to God for the emperor, not to the emperor as god. That such was their significance did not escape the Roman government, but Augustus and Tiberius, under whom the imperial cult was still in its earlier stages and who personally objected to the deification of themselves while still alive, considered the Jewish practice satisfactory. Not so Caligula, who wished to eliminate the equivocation in the Jewish sacrifices and therefore bade the Jews set his own statue in the temple and offer sacrifices to it:

⁹ Josephus states clearly the character of these sacrifices: "Our legislator has not forbidden us to do honor to worthy men, provided it be of a different kind from that done to God. By these honors we willingly show our respect for our emperors and for the Roman people. We offer also perpetual sacrifices for them, and not only do we offer these daily at the common expense of all the Jews, and although such sacrifices at common expense are not offered by us even for our own children, yet we do this to honor the emperors and them alone, because to no other person at all do we accord such honors" (*C. Apionem*, ii. 6). It was thus a special liturgy used exclusively for the emperor. In this form the imperial cult was an obligation imposed on the Jewish nation as a whole, and was observed as long as the temple stood.

"What interest do I have in your sacrifices," were his words to the Jews, "if they are not addressed to me?"

On this question of images the Jews could not yield; their law forbade images of God, and all the more of a man, in the temple or elsewhere. They had gone so far as to dedicate synagogues to the emperors as a compensation for inability to build temples in their honor; but to install images in the temple or the synagogues was an act of unforgivable idolatry. The timely murder of Caligula save them from a tragic alternative, and the edict of Claudius restored peace. The attitude of Claudius toward the imperial cult is, it seems to me, of some importance. This edict, confirming the Jewish privileges, remained the outstanding juridical document of Jewish liberties in the Roman empire; and it is therefore plain that the tradition concerning honors to the emperor established at that time must have been considered by the Jews as the limit of their obligations, even if in the following centuries under the stress of circumstances, when the imperial cult had assumed the form of a real worship and when the Jewish sacrifices had ceased, they had to put more emphasis on other features of their own tribute of honor to the *Divi Augusti*.

The letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians recovered by Bell from the papyrus of Philadelphia in Egypt throws much light on this point, for a section of it deals with the honors of the imperial cult voted by the city of Alexandria, for which they asked the assent of the emperor. Claudius permits the institution of a festival for his birthday, as '*dies Augusta*,' accepts the erection of statues of himself and members of his family in public places, the establishment of a Claudian tribe in the city, and the dedication of sacred precincts for each nome of Egypt. He assents also to the erection of four-horse chariots in his honor at the entrance of various cities, but he refuses a golden statue of '*Pax Augusta Claudiana*' because "it appears too offensive and is to be dedicated to Rome." Above all Claudius declines the offer of temples and of the appointment of an *ἀρχιερεύς*: "I deprecate, however, the appointment of a high-priest to me and the erection of temples, for I do not wish to be offensive to my contemporaries, and I hold that sacred

fanés and the like have by all ages been attributed only to the gods as peculiar honors.”¹⁰

Even if in the provinces prefects and legates with indiscreet zeal went beyond the imperial instructions on this point, it cannot be said that Claudius's reign was an epoch of marked development in the imperial cult.¹¹ Within the limits set by Claudius, and with the further exception of the statues and images, the Jews could have no difficulty in performing the duties of such a cult. It does not seem that in the following centuries they modified in any considerable degree this traditional form or that they were ever molested solely on account of it. Sacrifices ceased to be offered after the destruction of the temple, but in their synagogues the Jews commemorated with special meetings and prayers the dies natalis of the emperor, anniversaries and funerals of the imperial house, and such great events as victories over enemies, and on the prescribed days when that was done in the pagan temples, they offered the customary ‘vota pro salute imperatoris.’

In the use of the due official epithets for the emperor, some of which implied an indirect recognition of his divine character, it seems that the Jews used some discrimination.¹² The title *θεός* seems never to have been used of the emperor by the Jews, but ‘divus’ they freely employed. They also showed some repugnance for *δεσπότης*, but not for its Latin equivalent ‘dominus,’ nor even for *κύριος*. *Σωτήρ* and *εὐεργέτης*, often applied to Jehovah, are found in application to the emperor, and Josephus has no scruple about addressing the emperor with the abstract qualifications, *χάρις*, *φιλανθρωπία*, and the like, al-

¹⁰ Bell, pp. 27 f.

¹¹ “The present papyrus does show very clearly what steady pressure was maintained from the side of the provinces upon the emperors to sanction extensions of the cult. The most striking example of this is seen in the prefect's edict. Ordering the publication of this letter in which Claudius definitely refuses divine honours, the emperor's own representative calls on the people of Alexandria to admire *τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος*.” This seems to be the earliest example of the title *θεός* used in an official document for the living emperor. “If the intentions of the emperor,” Bell concludes, “were thus defeated by his own officials, we can see how inevitable, sooner or later, was the development of the cult into a real worship of the living ruler” (pp. 7, 8).

¹² Juster, I, pp. 342-344.

though these were names of old Roman deities, the worship of whom was incorporated in that of the emperor.¹³

The oath of fidelity to the emperor included explicit recognition of the divine character of Caesar and was couched in openly idolatric terms; Rome permitted the Jews to use an expurgated formula free from objectionable elements.¹⁴ To pious Jews Rome and its empire constituted after all a mere episode in the divine plan of history, in which Israel on the contrary had its place always at the centre of the stage; but though even the emperors who inflicted the most atrocious punishments on the Jewish nation were to be considered as the instruments of God's will, to the Jews at large the Roman power was the object of a fear and hatred which found relief only in the apocalyptic hopes. The utterances of several Jewish teachers who visited Rome, as well as certain Jewish legends about Rome and its emperors which have been preserved, describe the grandeur of the great city in emphatic language, but do so only to make the more portentous its future downfall and Israel's triumph the more glorious.¹⁵ Whether these legends originated in the Roman Jewish environment or not, we may fairly assume that they expressed the feelings and secret hopes of many faithful Jews who gathered round the Roman synagogues.

But whatever their feelings or their hopes, the Jews of Rome, with that mixture of idealism and practical mind so conspicuous in the whole history of the race, made use of all the advantages offered by the capital of the empire, adapted themselves to the environment as well as they could, borrowed such local customs

¹³ But there were fanatics who refused to conform to the general custom because "they said that God is their only ruler and lord" (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 1, 5).

¹⁴ See the formula of the oath in C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Juris antiqui*, ed. 7, 1909, p. 277. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, p. 3, n. 66. On the Jewish opposition, Juster, I, p. 344, n. 7.

¹⁵ Collected by Vogelstein and Riegel, I, pp. 80 ff. The utterances abound also in denunciations of Rome's moral corruption and vices. Titus, who to the Romans was "*deliciae generis humani*," for the Jews is "the wicked," and dies of a terrible death caused by a fly which lodges in his brain, devours it, and becomes as big as a pigeon. After his death the surgeons opened his skull and Rabbi Eleazar ben Jose saw with his own eyes the fly-pigeon flying in the sky above Rome (p. 91). Nero on the contrary, according to a Talmudic tale, was not murdered, but disappeared and became a Jew, and the famous R. Meir of the Mishnah (Moore, I, p. 95) was said to be one of his descendants (VR, p. 91).

and traditions as were not obviously inconsistent with their law and religious convictions, and altogether played a part of no small importance in the social, religious, and economic life of the city. Although by their aloofness they contributed little or nothing to the racial mixture of the Roman population, and did not undergo a real process of romanization, the Jews were deeply affected by their environment. We have already noticed this influence as shown in the peculiar form assumed by several Jewish associations, in certain details of their community government, in their cemeterial policy, and even in their adoption of artistic representations contrary to their own traditions. Other similar traces could perhaps be found in the rapid growth of financial prosperity in the Jewish community during the third century. A significant episode of Jewish life in Rome is their attitude toward the public games. In republican times foreigners were excluded from attendance at the games, which had a religious character and were consequently open to Roman citizens only. The Jews, who had already acquired citizenship, possessed the privilege, but do not seem to have availed themselves of it. But when in the imperial times the games in honor of the emperor and in connection with the imperial cult assumed a civic and also a semi-religious significance, and the emperor Caligula in his edict against the Jews obliged them to attend, it does not appear that he found much resistance, and the Jews began to crowd the circus. After the year 70, however, the Roman amphitheatres were filled with Jewish gladiators and fighters from the prisoners of war; and then the Jews abstained from the games, and their repugnance lasted throughout the whole second century. During the third century they were again overcome by the Roman fondness for these spectacles and became conspicuous for the numbers in which they frequented the games, to such a point that Christian writers did not spare their sarcastic remarks.¹⁶

¹⁶ The Jewish repugnance to the theatres was conspicuous among Jews of conservative tendencies. Among the hellenized Jews, even before Caligula, there was little abhorrence of spectacles. Juster, II, pp. 239-241, and literature, *ibid.*, n. 2.

As has been stated above, not all Jews who in the various periods crowded the Roman districts were attached in the same degree to their traditions or observed their law with the same faithfulness. There were Jews who had retained very little of the restrictive obligations of Judaism, and others who passed outright to heathenism. It is not impossible that certain attempts to link the origins of the Jewish race with those of the Greeks which are mentioned by writers of the second and third centuries may have originated, or at least found support, among these Jews who were losing their hold on Jewish tradition. On this point Josephus refutes at great length the fanciful theories of his opponents, but the attempt to divest Judaism of the historical autonomy of its traditions and to connect it with Hellenism is certainly significant.

Tacitus repeats one of those theories: "*Argumentum a nomine petitur: in Creta Idam montem accolles Idaeos, aucto in barbarum cognomento Iudaeos vocitari.*"¹⁷ That such fantastic etymologies may have occurred to Jews who had entirely detached themselves from their national traditions and were anxious to follow the example of the Romans, who connected the origin of their city and people with Hellenic civilization, is possible; and the more so because when the heathen historians and philosophers of Rome express their own opinion on the point they prefer to represent the Jews as descendants of barbarians wholly alien to the Greek genius and traditions. Celsus declares the ancestors of the Jews to have been Egyptian runaway slaves, who carried with them Egyptian beliefs and traditions which were modified and distorted by their great impostor, Moses.¹⁸

¹⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 2.

¹⁸ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 2; iii. 5; iv. 31. It seems to me that a distinction is to be made between the attacks upon the great antiquity and originality of the Jewish traditions and race and the attempts to connect Jewish origins with Hellenic history. The former were made with a disparaging purpose, as by Celsus (*Origen, C. Cels.* i. 31), to show that the teaching of the Jewish books and traditions was but a shameful plagiarism of the doctrines and customs of other and more ancient peoples, appropriated and partly falsified by the Jews. But on the contrary the ascription of a Greek origin to the Jewish race, offensive as it may have been to the conservative Jews, was a compliment in the eyes of Greeks and Romans, and obviously could not displease those

However that may be, this was not the only attempt to bring Judaism into line with other religions in the great syncretistic movement that swept over Rome from the second century on. It seems that in the hellenistic diaspora a contamination of Jewish and heathen elements had taken place in the mysteries of Sabazius, whose cult, to judge from the inscriptions, had attained a considerable hold in Rome.¹⁹ In the Christian catacomb of Praetextatus was found the grave of a priest of Sabazius named Vincentius, and a fresco which represented the banquet of the eternally happy. Cumont admits that this priest "belonged to a Jewish-pagan sect that admitted neophytes of every race to its mystic ceremonies."²⁰

The influence of Judaism, however, was felt not only indirectly through such contamination of myths, but also directly through the proselyting activities of the synagogues, which were open to all whom interest or curiosity drew to their services. "To Gentiles, in whose mind these services, consisting essentially of reading from the Scriptures and a discourse more or less loosely connected with it, lacked all the distinctive features of cultus, the synagogue . . . resembled a school of some foreign philosophy. That it claimed the authority of inspiration for its sacred text and of immemorial tradition for the interpretation, and that the reading was prefaced by invocations of the deity and hymns in his praise, was in that age quite consistent with this character. That the followers of this philosophy had many peculiar rules about food and dress and multiplied purifications was also natural enough in that time. The philosophy itself, whose fundamental doctrines seemed to be monotheism, divine providence guided by justice and benevolence, and reasonable morality, had little about it that was unfamiliar. Even what they sometimes heard about retribution after death, or

Jews who were altogether hellenized in thought and customs. For other similar etymologies of 'Judaesus' see Théodore Reinach, *Textes*, p. 215.

¹⁹ The influence of Judaism on the worship of Sabazius and on the mysteries is analyzed by F. Cumont, 'Les mystères de Sabazius et le Judaïsme,' in *Comptes-rendus, Acad. Inscr.*, 1906, pp. 63 ff., and *The Oriental Religions*, pp. 63 ff.

²⁰ *Oriental Religions*, p. 65.

a coming conflagration which should end the present order of things, was not novel." ²¹

From this point of view Jewish propaganda had a fair chance of success in the Roman environment. "But at the bottom Judaism was something wholly different from a philosophy." It was "a revealed religion, which did not ask man's approval but demanded obedience to the whole and every part, reason and inclination to the contrary notwithstanding; an exclusive religion which tolerated no divided allegiance; a religion which made a man's eternal destiny depend on his submission of his whole life to its law, or his rejection of God who gave the law." ²² To accept Judaism on these terms was not an easy matter; but there was a still more serious difficulty to overcome. Judaism was a religion with a political content and a national political program, the realization of which would secure the permanent triumph of the Jewish race over the world. On this point the antinomy between Judaism and the religio-political system of Rome was irreconcilable.

The antithesis between the Jewish and the Roman system lay precisely in the fact that each had reached a final identification of religious and political interests and ideals; but the eternity of Rome, proclaimed by augurs and oracles, was the denial of the apocalyptic kingdom of the Jews; and vice versa. Here were two programs of universal expansion incompatible the one with the other. The strength of Judaism rested on its ethical and spiritual content, its weaknesses on its national political aspirations. On the other hand, the strength of the Roman system lay in its political and juridical universalism, while its ethics were merely civic and its religion lacked consistency and spiritual appeal. It was primarily because of its national political content that Judaism could not be accepted as a universal religion. Its aim was to 'israelize' the world, not only by imposing on all who accepted its religious truth customs and social practices that were peculiar to the Jewish national tradition and that often shocked the feelings and violated the mores of other communities, but also by calling upon those who wished to share Israel's future hopes to denationalize themselves and

²¹ Moore, I, p. 324.

²² Ibid., pp. 324 f.

become incorporated into the Jewish nation, and by condemning all other peoples to serve the Jews in the kingdom to come.

Thus Judaism was not only intolérant of all the heathen religions but was fundamentally opposed to all other political systems. Rome based its claim to universalism and eternity on its political and juridical institutions; so far as concerned religion, in the historical evolution which transformed the religious life of the people during the first two centuries of the empire Rome finally formulated the program of a comprehensive religious unity by inclusion and under subordination to the State as the supreme religio-political power. Under Judaism, on the contrary, the religious unity of the world could be accomplished only through the most rigorous process of exclusion.

Undoubtedly it was not the fear of future hypothetical messianic armies that worried the Roman government, but rather the actual or possible Jewish rebellions, which proved so difficult to suppress. In the same way it was not the Jewish claim that their religion would some day become the religion of the whole world that worried the philosophers and thinkers of Rome. Such pretense they merely scorned, but Jewish intolerance and the Jew's arrogance in supposing and preaching that they alone possessed truth and righteousness caused men of culture to lose their patience,²³ just as Jewish aloofness provoked the resentment and even hatred of the masses. In fact Jewish proselytism, if successful, would have actually undermined the foundations of the whole Roman system. It is not surprising that Rome at times opposed Jewish proselytism; but rather that she did not take a still more uncompromising stand against it.

The Roman legislation concerning the Jewish communities sometimes appears inconsistent, for two opposite principles were at play in the Jewish problem with which the Roman government was confronted. On the one hand it was the traditional principle that every nation had the right and duty to maintain the religion and mores established by its maiores, a principle which the Romans respected by allowing all freedom to national religions. On the other hand stood the principle of

²³ *Contra Celsum*, iv, *passim* and v. 50.

Rome's right to rule the world and to subordinate to Roman institutions the religious institutions of conquered nations. For all other national religions Rome had solved the problem by adopting their gods. Through these adoptions the close national connection of the deities to the original political centres of the nations was weakened, and gradually Rome itself had become the great religious capital of all nations and races. But with Judaism such a solution was not possible. The Jewish religious and national exclusivism forbade any adoption of their 'sacra' by the Romans side by side with the 'sacra' of all other nations. With the Jews Rome had to devise other modes of preventing this people's national religion from being forever identified with their political cause.

The Jews of the earliest community in Rome, formed while a Jewish national state was still in existence, enjoyed, like all other groups, the right to keep their religious traditions.²⁴ But the recognition of the right of the Jewish communities to live according to τὰ πατρια ἔθη and to practise τὰ ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκά involved their right to keep all customs and obligations and all social and economic activities regulated by their religious law, as well as exemption by their special privilege from those state regulations and duties which were in opposition to or interfered with the observance of their law.²⁵ It involved also their right to remain faithful to the fundamental conception of God and His rule of the universe upon which the Law was based and from which it derived its sanction, and to their belief in, and hopes for, the fulfilment of God's plan in the history of mankind, consequently to their expectation of the final triumph of the Jewish nation over all others. From this point of view Judaism was a political system, its organization had a political purpose, and its propaganda a political character.

²⁴ Celsus has no objection to the Jews' living according to their own traditions, on the contrary he praises them for doing so; but for the same reason he condemns them for inviting people of other races to abandon their own original religion and adopt Judaism (especially Origen, *C. Cels.* v. 25 ff.); see L. Rougier, *Celse ou le conflit de la civilisation antique et du Christianisme primitif*, 1925, p. 176.

²⁵ Thus they were not eligible to public offices the duties of which involved religious oaths and practices. Augustus even granted them the privilege of receiving the public distribution of corn on a different day when the stated day happened to be a Sabbath.

Roman legislation concerning the Jews was an attempt at a compromise between these two conflicting principles of Roman policy. The privilege of exemption from the official cults and from certain practices of the worship of the emperors, as well as from certain formulae in the oaths and even in specific cases from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Roman courts, was a conspicuous example of Roman respect for the *mores maiorum* of a conquered people, and in relation to the Jewish community of Rome manifested their tolerance toward the religious traditions of the foreign groups in the capital. Even more conspicuous and characteristic was the privilege granted to such Jews as acquired Roman citizenship to continue in the enjoyment of the same exemptions in spite of the fact that such a unique concession was a breach in the logical consistency of the Roman juridical system and created a precedent of some importance. But on the other hand the Roman consciousness of the danger that might arise from the political content of Judaism is revealed by the consistent efforts of the law to restrain the Jewish religion from gaining any ground outside the Jewish race. As a matter of fact the gentiles who were converted to Judaism, the proselytes, were denied by the Roman law the privileges and rights of Jews; and if they refused to perform the acts of worship of the official and imperial cults when it was their duty to do so, they were liable to be punished according to the general law. Even the Jews by race who had foregone their national religion in favor of another were not protected by any national privileges and were bound by the general laws. The special measures taken by various emperors directly or indirectly against Jewish proselytism and the severe penalties imposed betray the same consistent aim of the Roman law to shut up Judaism within racial boundaries and prevent its propagation.²⁶

That the Roman law preferred to continue with this mild procedure rather than to adopt the ruthless levelling policy of Caligula is to the credit of Roman political wisdom; but Cali-

²⁶ On this point the rigorous measures adopted by Domitian, as well as by Hadrian, Antoninus, and Severus, though different in character and in the use of means of coercion, were prompted by the same motive and directed to the same purpose.

gula's attempt, which, if carried out, would have been a deadly blow to Judaism, especially in the communities of the diaspora, is highly significant, and shows that Rome was fully aware of the political content of Judaism and of the possible complications which might arise from a policy of a complete tolerance. Caligula's policy would have been a radical solution, which would undoubtedly have anticipated the events of half-a-century later and have led to a general persecution of the Jews, of which the effect on the Jewish race and religion and eventually on Christianity is difficult now to estimate. If, however, in view of the seriousness of the undertaking and especially of the well-known persistence of the Jews in their traditions, Rome gave up the attempt to force them to act against their religious conscience, it did not give up its program of checking their political aspirations. The policy of Rome towards the Jewish nation was to give them something with one hand and with the other to take away from them something else. The solemn confirmation of the Jewish privileges promulgated by Claudius in 41-42 A.D. was followed by the practical abolition of the Jewish state when in 44 A.D., after the death of Agrippa, Judaea passed under direct Roman administration and the Jewish nation ceased to have a supreme political representative. The result was the great rebellion and the war which ended in the destruction of the temple and the complete disappearance of the Jewish nation as a political organism in the Roman legal and administrative system. Logically the abolition of Jewish privileges ought to have followed, but it did not. The precedent by which Roman citizens of Jewish race had been allowed to retain their Jewish privileges had long before prepared the way, and had already introduced into Roman juridical tradition the habit of treating these privileges as pertaining to all members of the Jewish race who practised the traditional Jewish religion, rather than as privileges having a national political character.

After all, this juridical solution was not a 'fictio juris,' but corresponded to the real situation and was in harmony with the feelings of such Jews themselves as were descended from families which, settled for generations in gentile countries,

spoke the local language and had appropriated more or less of alien culture. "To them," as Moore remarks, "Judaism was in reality not so much the religion of the mother-country as the religion of the Jewish race; it was a national religion not in a political but in a genealogical sense," though this was a distinction "of which they were doubtless unconscious."²⁷

Having thus satisfied the religious needs of the Jews of the diaspora and at the same time dispelled all hope of a political restoration of the Palestinian Jews, Rome could believe that it had settled the Jewish problem forever.

But the struggle was not over: new agitations provoked new restrictive measures and new restrictive measures provoked new rebellions. It is not without significance that the rebellion under Trajan spread also in the eastern diaspora; it made the Roman government realize once more that Judaism was not a mere religion but also a political system, and that Jewish propaganda had still a political importance. The law against circumcision was indeed a new, though devious and indirect, measure for striking at the roots of Judaism, and from one point of view it was a return to the radical policy against Judaism attempted by Caligula. The last war under Hadrian, the final catastrophe of Jerusalem, and the drastic laws to prevent all Jews from returning to the holy city put an end to Jewish political hopes of a near fulfilment of God's plan in their favor, and at the same time marked the end of the active period of Jewish religious propaganda in the Roman world. This coincidence is not without importance in estimating the character and historical value of Jewish proselytism.

The missionary activity of the Jews in Rome had begun to acquire some importance during the last decades of the republic, and increased with the increase of the community under the empire, especially after the edict of Claudius put an end to the expulsions of Jews from the city. Although their propaganda did not encounter among the masses in Rome that open hostility, often taking the offensive, which in other cities of the diaspora and especially in Alexandria subjected the Jews to periods of hardship and suffering, yet even in Rome there was a con-

²⁷ Moore, I, p. 225.

stant undercurrent of anti-semitism. The Latin satirists who make so much of these anti-jewish feelings present humorous pictures of the strange customs of the Jews, their lack of refinement, and above all of their clannishness. The belief that the Jews hated all other races and the whole of mankind was widespread, and naturally roused the wrath of the cosmopolitan population of the city. But from the descriptions of the same Latin writers it appears that the Jews had succeeded in gaining the sympathies of many persons who admired the simplicity and purity of the Jewish doctrine of God, with its freedom from degrading mythological associations, and their lofty moral teaching, so similar to that of the noblest philosophical tradition.²⁸

It is not likely that Judaism gained in Rome many proselytes, that is to say, gentiles who accepted Judaism in its entirety and became by adoption members of the Jewish nation. That among the several hundred inscriptions of the Jewish cemeteries only four or five belong to proselytes,²⁹ cannot be considered as conclusive, but the fact is remarkable. It was probably not so much the fear of the law that dissuaded many from fully adopting the Jewish religion, for unless they were Roman citizens and held official positions their conversion to Judaism would in normal times have passed unnoticed; the deterrent was rather the complicated ritual prescriptions and dietary laws and social limitations imposed by the Jewish religion, and still more the fact that among the Jews themselves the proselytes, though considered equal in law and religion, formed an inferior class and only by special individual distinction could rise to social equality with other Jews.³⁰

²⁸ On the Jewish proselytes in general see the exhaustive chapter, 'Conversion of Gentiles,' in Moore, I, pp. 323-353.

²⁹ VR, 152 (CIL. VI, 29756); VR, 155, 168; Müller, 77; Paribeni NS (1920), 44, 47; Armellini, *Cronichette mensili*, 1883, p. 188.

³⁰ "Equality in law and religion does not necessarily carry with it complete social equality, and the Jews would have been singularly unlike the rest of mankind if they had felt no superiority to their heathen converts. To the old classification, Priests, Levites, (lay) Israelites, a fourth category was added, Proselytes; and sometimes a subdivision puts them far down in the table of precedence, after (Israelite) bastards and Nethinim (descendants of old temple-slaves), and only above (heathen) slaves who had been circumcised and emancipated by their masters," Moore, I, p. 335.

More numerous was the class of οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, or 'metuentes,' who rejected idolatry in favor of the Jewish God and adopted some of the less objectionable Jewish traditions, like the observance of the Sabbath, but remained outside the Jewish organization, although they "undoubtedly expected to share with Jews by birth the favor of the God they had adopted, and were encouraged in this hope by their Jewish teachers."³¹ Juvenal remarks that the Sabbath was much observed among the populace, and Seneca worried over Judaism as a serious menace for Rome. The metuentes were not buried in the Jewish cemeteries, and in most cases it is not likely that their religious faith was mentioned in the inscriptions on their graves. A few inscriptions have been found in various places in Rome, six or seven altogether, which marked the graves of metuentes, besides two or three more which probably belong to the same class.³² Undoubtedly, "partly from excess of religiousness, partly because they had no public religious duties, women were in the large majority among these adherents of Judaism,"³³ and the inscriptions, though so few, confirm this assumption. Out of five inscriptions of proselytes three belong to women, and of the eight inscriptions of metuentes only two belong to men and six to women. It is doubtful if many men of the aristocratic class ever became proselytes, though probably a certain number of these, whose religious philosophy had led them to monotheism, sympathized with Jewish teaching and may even have been numbered among the metuentes. But it would be an unwarranted generalization to consider as adherents of Judaism those members of Roman aristocratic families who are mentioned by the historians as having been accused of ἀσέβεια.³⁴

³¹ Moore, I, p. 325.

³² CIL. VI, 29759, 29763, 29760; Kaibel 1325; CIL. V, 88 (VR, 149) is supposed to belong to Rome. Also VR, 4, 141, 20, and 258 are interpreted as inscriptions of metuentes. If such is the case, then the metuentes were not always excluded from the Jewish cemeteries, for VR, 158 comes with certainty from the catacomb of Vigna Cimarra.

³³ Moore, I, p. 326.

³⁴ Moore, I, pp. 350 f. Also F. Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, pp. 7-11, and pp. 467-469 on the use and meaning of ἀσέβεια in the pagan and Christian writers of the first and second centuries after Christ.

In the inscriptions appears only one name of an eques Romanus.³⁵

Among the cosmopolitan population of Rome every religion could find followers; and notwithstanding the hardships to which its converts from heathenism were subjected, Judaism could not fail to appeal to those who were prepared to receive its beliefs or had a motive for joining the Jewish religion. To the true Romans, however, and to those who had appropriated Roman ideas and traditions the association in Judaism of national political expectation with the properly religious and ethical elements of the religion must have made the adoption of it highly objectionable.³⁶ Tacitus may well express the feeling of the conservative Roman higher classes, as well as those of the people of culture, when he characterizes the proselytes as "transgressi in morem eorum" and as renegades of the fatherland ("exuere patriam").³⁷

It is true that in Rome Judaism probably was not preached to the gentiles in its uncompromising form, and that its messianic aspirations must have been either omitted or at least left in the shade. But besides the political reasons and the objectionable practices the death-blow, as it turned out, to the propaganda of Judaism was the competition of Christianity, which could make a much stronger appeal to the masses. The fact is that in the third century the Jewish religion had ceased to have any considerable influence in the general Roman environment, had abandoned the offensive, and had begun to retire behind its lines.³⁸ It had not found such a response as did other orien-

³⁵ VR, 141: "Aemilio Valenti eq. Romano metuenti." Found in Vigna del Pino, Ephem. Epigr. IV, 291, n. 833.

³⁶ In several Jewish inscriptions of the Roman cemeteries we find in praise of the deceased such phrases as *πᾶσι φειλητός* (VR, 72); or *πᾶσι φίλη* (VR, 97); or *φιλόλαος* (VR, 131). These sound like humble protests against the current accusation that the Jews were guilty of hatred against the whole of mankind. The Jewish butcher of VR, 143, is called "omniorum [sic] amicus."

³⁷ Tac. Hist. v. 5.

³⁸ "In the latter part of the second century there set in among the Jews a reaction against everything foreign. The age of missionary activity came to an end; even the conversion of proselytes was looked upon askance. Judaism, thrown on the defensive, retreated into the stronghold of the Law, and converted it into an impregnable fortress," G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, II, p. 68. But the teaching of the various schools

tal religions; some of its proselytes in periods of governmental hostility had turned informers, others had passed over to Christianity. Moreover, instead of being an element of strength, the proselytes often brought into the Jewish community intellectual and moral tendencies which would eventually have developed into forces of disintegration, and, last but not least, their conversion, forbidden by the Roman law, was a cause of friction with the government and of restrictive measures against the Jews.

The inflexible temper of Judaism could not bend to a process of romanization: the internal conflict between the out-reaching spirit of its theology and ethics on the one hand and the exclusive spirit of its institutions on the other could not be overcome. But it was from Judaism that Christianity, the religion which was destined to supersede all others as the religion of Rome, derived the universal elements of its spiritual content, in a form free from national Jewish limitations and in harmony with the spiritual elements of the religions of salvation and immortality. By becoming romanized, by adapting itself in a series of compromises to the spirit of Hellenistic-Roman religious and political thought, Christianity found in Roman institutions the fit instruments for its new task as a church universal.

about the fair treatment of the proselytes remained the same as before; Moore, *Judaism*, I, pp. 342 ff.

THE environment described above of immigrant groups with their imported traditions and customs, their associations of various types formed to meet new needs, and their religious organizations established to carry on the cult of their gods, was that in which the first Christian group was established in Rome and in which the Roman church developed its early institutions and prepared itself for its part in the whole history of Christianity. An important feature, which must not be overlooked in an attempt to study the development of the Christian Roman community under the bearing of this historical background, is the continuous process of adaptation of the immigrant groups to the social, economic, and political requirements of the city, the interplay of influence between their institutions and religions and those of the Roman tradition, and the racial mixture which could not fail to affect the very character of the population, its mentality, and its standards of life.

When we speak of the orientalization of Rome we must not forget that at the same time there were also at work in Rome vital forces which not only reacted against orientalizing influences but tended to romanize the oriental groups and their traditions and institutions. This process went far in certain directions, in others it failed, and in others still it reached a compromise between the old and the new, the native and the foreign elements of that complex civilization. But that the vitality of the Latin spirit was not dead, its assimilating capacity not entirely exhausted, and its traditions and mentality not entirely absorbed and transformed by the orientalizing wave which swept over the empire, is made especially clear by significant events which mark the history of the growth of the Roman church. As a religion of immigrants Christianity found in Rome a fruitful field of missionary activity among its cosmopolitan population, and for almost two centuries the Greek and oriental elements prevailed in the community and dictated its policy. It was a period of acute conflicts due to the presence of groups and tendencies transplanted to Rome from the various eastern centres in which, as Christianity developed and as its doctrines were elaborated, opposing interpretations of tradition and practice had grown up and endless

conflicts of teachers and schools, communities and churches, had arisen. Rome, the great religious centre of the empire, became the common ground where all these divergent tendencies of Christian interpretation met, and there they struggled for the conquest of the Roman community. As long as the church of Rome remained a church of Greek and oriental immigrants the conflict was unabated, but gradually the Latin element gained the upper hand and with the latinization of the church the doctrinal controversies within the community lost their importance. The danger-line had been passed, and the stress was now on organization and discipline according to the best tradition of the Roman spirit. The latinization of the Roman church is a fact of great historical importance not only because of its far-reaching effect on the whole history of Christianity, but also because it affords the most conclusive evidence that in spite of the racial mixture which characterized the Roman population under the empire, in spite of the rising tide of eastern influences which finally overcame even the imperial institutions and led to Byzantium, Latin mentality was still a creative power with which the world had to reckon in the catastrophic transformation of ancient civilization. It is not too much to say that the Roman spirit, confronted with the ruin of its political institutions, which had been absorbed and transformed by the military despotism and orientalizing autocracy of a tottering empire, now concentrated its energies on the new spiritual and moral power which lay in Christianity, and gradually made of it a new instrument of world domination fit to supersede the old one.

The question has often been formulated, why the development of Christianity moved with such strength toward the West and why the eastern side of its missionary work was from the first relatively weaker.¹ It seems to me that the solution of that question does not depend solely or even primarily on the problem of Hellenism, that is, on considerations of language and culture. Doubtless, the importance of this element is not to be underestimated; but the conspicuous fact which explains

¹ M. Dibelius, 'The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels,' *Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1927, p. 164.

the strength and also the more homogeneous character of the western expansion of Christianity is the existence in the West of the city of Rome, that great centre of both political and religious life, the uranopolis, in which all currents of thought, all traditions of peoples, all religious and social institutions, met and mingled together, and from which the western provinces received their cultural and religious standards. While in the East several great hellenistic centres existed in which the common original Christian tradition underwent different and often conflicting elaborations and interpretations, in the West Rome stood alone and supreme. And, what is more important, Rome was, and always remained, an organizing power. There is no doubt that in the early period Christian communities were established in the West by the direct action of eastern missionaries and without the concurrence of Rome, but there is also no doubt that these soon came under the spiritual influence and leadership of Rome, and that the Christian organization of the western churches was due mainly to the activities of the Roman church.

The strategic importance of Rome for any attempt at Christian expansion in the West was clearly perceived by Paul, who, having, as he thought, accomplished his task in the East, or possibly disheartened by the systematic opposition of bitter enemies who followed upon his footsteps provoking divisions and quarrels within the communities established by his apostolic labors, turned his eyes toward the West and conceived the ambitious plan of carrying the evangelic message to a new soil where his opponents would probably find it more difficult to follow him and create obstacles to his mission. Paul was fully aware that Rome was the key to the West and that the success of his projected western mission was dependent on his ability to gain first of all a firm hold on the Christian community there.²

The Roman tradition which attributed to Roman missionaries the establishment of all the western churches, a tradition

² I have tried to show the importance of this point in my essay, 'La primitiva comunità cristiana di Roma e l'Epistola ai Romani,' in *Ricerche Religiose*, Rome, May-July, 1925, pp. 224 ff.

which as early as the fourth century is appealed to by the Roman bishops as a title which gave them definite rights, may be historically inexact, but it contains an element of truth, for there is little doubt that western Christianity and the western churches sooner or later and directly or indirectly drew from Rome their doctrinal and disciplinary standards. How much the Roman church contributed to the general doctrinal and institutional tradition of Christianity, both in its stage of a religion of immigrant groups and in its stage of a Latin church, is one of the most important and most fundamental problems of the history of Christianity. But no solution can be fully satisfactory unless the problem is set in its true historical background and the true character of the Roman Christian community of the first centuries, as a community formed by immigrant groups and representing all races and traditions, is kept in mind in its effect on the conflicts and their issues.

It would be hard to prove by historical evidence that the Roman Christian community was the birthplace of any of the fundamental doctrinal traditions which came to form the backbone of the Christian theological system, but it would be no less hard to disprove the claim that every doctrinal tradition that acquired full right of citizenship in the ancient church had already been put to trial within the Roman community. The contribution of Rome, for instance, to the canon of the New Testament is a highly controverted question in which the lack of definite historical evidence invalidates or weakens such ancient traditions as that which assigns a Roman origin to the Gospel of Mark. Undoubtedly the study of the history of the early Roman church from the point of view of a church of immigrant groups might throw some light even on such questions. The modern "formgeschichtliche" school which would trace the various ways in which Christian tradition was formulated not by considering contemporary historical and literary standards but by studying the growth of popular traditions, might well take into account the fact that the Roman environment with its cosmopolitan population must have offered to missionaries and preachers a vast material ready to be elaborated

in various forms. There is no doubt that the folklore and anecdotic tales of the whole Mediterranean world and of the countries beyond migrated to Rome with the crowds of slaves and merchants and adventurers who settled there from the four corners of the world and constituted the great bulk of the Roman population under the empire.

Streams of legendary lore and anecdotic wit from East and West converged in Rome, where from generation to generation, in the hands of story-tellers, popular moralists, and preachers, all this imported material was necessarily subject to contamination as it was absorbed by transfer and adaptation. No wonder that the inexhaustible store of popular legends which later assumed specific form in the western legends of martyrs and saints contains highly disparate elements in which the most various origin both eastern and western can be clearly traced. Even the secular legendary cycles which delighted the people and society of the Middle Ages and survived in the novelistic literature and the theatre of the western nations owes not a little to the migration to Rome of the folklore of all the ancient world and to the fresh elaboration of it by the popular imagination in the new Roman environment.

But there is another general problem which must at least be mentioned here. The decay of ancient civilization and the fall of the Roman Empire run chronologically parallel to the growth and triumph of Christianity. In assigning to the various factors of the Roman decline — political, economical, and even biological — their just degree of responsibility for the downfall of ancient civilization, opinions and theories differ widely. The religious factor has not been overlooked, and the share of Christianity in the Roman débâcle has sometimes been reduced to a negligible quantity, sometimes emphasized as a capital force of disintegration. The historical conditions have recently been stated as follows by Rostovtzeff in the concluding pages of his book so often quoted above.³ In its political aspect, he holds, the decline of ancient civilization and of the empire was a gradual barbarization of the West by the German element and a gradual orientalizing of the East. The

³ SEHRE, pp. 478 ff.

social and economic aspect of the decline shows a gradual relapse of the ancient world to very primitive forms of economic life — an almost pure “house-economy.” From the intellectual and spiritual point of view we find on the one hand “a progressive weakening of the assimilative forces of Greco-Roman civilization. The cities no longer Hellenize or Romanize the masses of the country population. The reverse is the case. The barbarism of the country begins to engulf the city population.” On the other hand, “another aspect of the same phenomenon is the development of a new mentality among the masses of the population. It was the mentality of the lower classes, based exclusively on religion and not only indifferent but hostile to the intellectual achievements of the higher classes. This new attitude of mind gradually dominates the upper classes, or at least the larger part of them. It is revealed by the spread among them of the various mystic religions, partly oriental, partly Greek. The climax was reached in the triumph of Christianity. In this field the creative power of the ancient world was still alive, as is shown by such momentous achievements as the creation of the Christian church, the adaptation of Christian theology to the mental level of the higher classes, the creation of a powerful Christian literature and of a new Christian art.”

Apart from the references in this statement to the genesis and growth of Christianity, the points which have a primary importance for our present study are: (1) that the creative power of the ancient world, though weakened and gradually exhausted, yet had enough vitality remaining to give birth to so great an institution as the Christian church with its doctrinal system, its literature, and its art; (2) that “the prominent feature in the development of the ancient world during the imperial age, alike in the political, social, and economic and in the intellectual field, was a gradual absorption of the higher classes by the lower accompanied by a gradual levelling down of standards.” If my interpretation of these two statements is correct, this means that Christianity represents both a momentous achievement of the creative power of the ancient world and at the same time the final triumph of the mentality of the lower

classes, hostile to the intellectual achievement of the higher. These two positions, thus formulated, seem hardly consistent, but in spite of the apparent contradiction the conclusion, if rightly understood, may after all be not far from the historical truth.

Christianity in the beginning was not so much a theology as a movement of ethical and mystical character and a way of salvation through a redemptive experience. As such it was a religion of the lower classes, among whom it found the greater part of its followers. But in a further stage, which began very soon, the theological implications of its faith began to be unfolded by men of culture, and a system of theology was gradually built up which brought Christianity in line with the philosophies and theologies of the time. Christianity thus became a religion of thinkers, and may well be called a creation and a continuation of Graeco-Roman civilization. If Christianity had remained in the stage of a mere mystical movement and a practical way of salvation, it would very likely have gradually died out by exhaustion or been diluted into mere magical practices. If on the other hand Christianity had resolved itself into mere theology, it would have become simply a school of philosophy, and would have ceased to exist through such a process of self-criticism and internal disintegration as has befallen all schools of philosophy. As a matter of fact, Christianity, as represented by the popular masses or rather by that lower mentality of which Rostovtzeff speaks, was, and has been for most of its history, little more than a practical way of salvation, with no lack of magical implications in the common interpretation of its rites and ceremonies. At the same time the doctrinal development of Christianity from the time of the Gnostics until today shows that often the attempts to apply rational processes to the Christian faith have destroyed the foundations of the whole theological system.

What saved Christianity amid the perils besetting it from opposite directions was its capacity to bring together by a kind of bridge these two forms of Christian experience or, to use Rostovtzeff's term, 'mentalities,' the higher and the lower. This came about through the organization of Christianity as

a church, endowed with powers not only spiritual but also disciplinary and resting on a solid hierarchical constitution. By virtue of its character as a substantial organization the church was enabled gradually to create its own definite set of doctrines, thus emancipating its creed from the changing moods of theological speculation and chaining the schools to the episcopal chairs. But also, by the principle of spiritual solidarity and *fides implicita*, the church attributed to the simple, or even degraded, faith of the uneducated masses a higher meaning and a deeper content — an attribution, indeed, which in many cases overlooked the emptiness and superstition of their spiritual life. Just here the paramount importance of the church of Rome in the history of ancient Christianity is to be seen, and it consists in its dominating influence on the development of ecclesiastical organization. The genesis and growth of the Roman system is thus a subject which stands in close relation to the historical question, why Christianity triumphed and how it was able to survive the downfall of ancient civilization.

Until the fifth century the Christian religion was mainly a city religion; in the country its penetration was slow, and effected but a thin veneer of Christianity which touched lightly, if at all, that lower rural mentality which Rostovtzeff represents as submerging the civilization of the cities. Yet for the city of Rome itself the situation wears a different aspect. The decay of Rome is usually attributed by historians to degeneracy and race suicide and to the contamination of the Roman race by admixture of inferior races. But, as Rostovtzeff remarks, this biological solution is no solution at all. Even if we had a sound criterion for distinguishing inferior and superior among those races which crowded Rome, we should still have to explain why, contrary to the natural presumption, the force of assimilation was greater in the inferior than in the superior races. The denationalization of the servile class has been suggested⁴ as a factor in this process. "That portion of the Roman world from which its government, its culture and its ideals proceeded,

⁴ By Miss M. L. Gordon in her remarkable paper on the Nationality of Slaves under the early Roman Empire, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1924, p. 110.

was derived to a great extent from a servile class of no nationality and of a civilization not of their own. The conventionality, the waning literary and artistic inspiration and the general creeping paralysis of ancient culture may find part of its explanation here." But as an offset to this disintegrating side of denationalization the same writer points out that through the same process it was made easier for the slave to become a citizen of the world. Furthermore the slave had the habit of hard work, which was the saving salt that preserved the whole servile class from utter corruption. The slave had also the possibility of forming a home, and the joy of its affections, and this "ancient foundation of Roman greatness renewed its sacredness in the servile population which first received and transmitted the religion of *ἀγάπη*. The earliest Christians were for the most part of humble and probably servile descent. It is as the first recipients of the new religion that slaves and freedmen have a claim to the highest historical importance. To Christianity they brought their traditional cosmopolitanism, their discipline of work and suffering, and that family affection which still smells sweet and blossoms in their dust, while from Christianity they received at once inspiration greater than that of a race and a spiritual emancipation as daring as it was triumphant."

This may appear to be, and in part is in fact, poetic sentimentalism, but, although with exaggeration, the forces are here indicated which made possible the appeal of Christianity to the lower classes. But neither the decline of the city of Rome nor the final triumph of Christianity is to be explained by these arguments. The decline of the city was due mainly to political causes inherent in the transformation of the imperial constitution. It began as a definite fact when Rome ceased to be the real capital of the empire and the seat of the government. The economic consequence of this great event was that the wealth of the Roman world, which hitherto had mainly flowed by various channels into Rome, was now diverted elsewhere, so that Rome was reduced to what the exhausted Italia suburbicaria and the alms of the emperors could supply. Never a productive city, and habituated to receiving its food from the

public treasury, Rome became entirely dependent upon the good will of a distant government, often weak or incapable, or at least slow in showing an interest in the city. In consequence of the general agricultural depression the great estates of the senatorial families gradually came to yield smaller profits, while the loss one after another of the provinces in which these estates were situated was a powerful added cause to create a sharp decline in the wealth and population of the city.

But in the common ruin a new economic power was gradually emerging, and increasingly played a most important part in the life of the city: the Roman church. Its vast patrimonies, the frequent donations of princes and private persons, the offerings of pilgrims and devotees, put at the disposal of the church of Rome large means by which it was enabled gradually to assume toward the citizens all the duties and consequent rights which had formerly belonged to the political administration. Thus for the church of Rome the way was paved for acquiring a state and forming a new ecclesiastical political principality. And it is interesting to notice that even in the centuries of the early Middle Ages, although the population of Rome was barely one tenth of what it had been under the empire, yet the city did not entirely lose its cosmopolitan character. The veneration of the tombs of the Apostles and the growing power of the Roman bishops were among the forces that attracted to Rome a steady flow of pilgrims and groups of settlers, many of the latter being members of religious institutions. Greeks and Syrians, Gauls, Germans, and Britons had in Rome institutions of their own, and their presence exercised no little influence on the life and policies of the Roman church. Even in this point of view Christian Rome inherited her cosmopolitanism as a precious legacy from the Roman empire.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- A NEW-ENGLANDER IN JAPAN: Daniel Crosby Greene. *By Evarts Boutell Greene.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. Pp. x, 374. \$5.00.
- THE PATHWAY TO REALITY: being the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews, 1902-04. *By Viscount Haldane.* New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. First Issue in one Volume, 1926. Pp. xxx, 600. \$5.00.
- ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. Second Series. *By Baron Friedrich von Hügel.* New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1926. Pp. ix, 287. \$5.00.
- THE LIFE OF SAINT PAUL, THE MAN AND THE APOSTLE. *By F. J. Foakes-Jackson.* New York, Boni & Liveright, 1926. Pp. 292. \$3.50.
- THE MAKERS OF THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, 1844-94. *By Francis A. Christie.* Boston, Beacon Press, 1927. Pp. 171. \$1.60.
- THE STATESMAN'S BOOK OF JOHN OF SALISBURY: being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus, translated by John Dickinson. (Political Science Classics.) New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. xc, 410. \$3.00.
- HINDU MYSTICISM: Six Lectures. *By S. N. Dasgupta.* (Norman Wait Harris Foundation Lectures, 1926, Northwestern University.) Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xx, 168. \$2.00.
- FINDINGS BY THE ROADSIDE. *By Theodore George Hartwig.* Burlington, Iowa, The Lutheran Literary Board, 1927. Pp. 102. \$0.85.
- THE TEACHING OF THE EARLY CHURCH ON THE USE OF WINE AND STRONG DRINK. *By Irving Woodworth Raymond.* (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, No. 286.) New York, Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. 170. \$3.00.
- DAVID HUME AND THE MIRACULOUS. (The Leslie Stephen Lecture, 1927.) *By A. E. Taylor.* Cambridge University Press (New York, The Macmillan Company), 1927. Pp. 54. 2s. 6d.
- SUPERPERSONALISM: the Outer Consciousness a Biological Entity. Reflections on the Independence of Instinct and its Characteristics in Evolution. *By W. D. Lighthall.* Montreal, Witness Press, 1926. Pp. 116.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. *By A. H. McNeile.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. 478. (Oxford Univ. Press, Am. Branch, N. Y., \$6.50.)
- THE EARLIEST LATIN COMMENTARIES ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. *By Alexander Souter.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. x, 244. (Oxford Univ. Press, Am. Branch, N. Y., \$5.00.)
- THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD: Collected Essays. *By William Ralph Inge.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. Pp. xi, 275. \$2.00.
- ESSAYS IN CHRISTIAN POLITICS AND KINDRED SUBJECTS. *By William Temple.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. Pp. vii, 228. \$2.75.

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

- PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 13-17, 1926. *Edited by Edgar Sheffield Brightman.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. Pp. lxxxvii, 716.
- THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN LUTHERAN THEOLOGY: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism. *By Vergilius Ferm.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. xiii, 409. \$3.00.
- RELIGIONS PAST AND PRESENT: An Elementary Account of Comparative Religion. *By Bertram C. A. Windle.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. x, 308. \$3.00.
- FAMILY DEVOTIONS, *compiled by Howard Chandler Robbins.* (The Century Devotional Library edited by John Wallace Suter, Jr.) New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. 183. \$1.75.
- GOD AND THE GOLDEN RULE. *By Joseph Fort Newton.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. 269. \$2.00.
- CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL ADVENTURING. Edited with an Introduction by *Jerome Davis.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. xii, 373. \$2.50.
- AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CATHEDRAL. *Edited by Louis Howland.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. ix, 184. \$1.50.
- OFFICES OF MYSTICAL RELIGION: projecting Congregationally the Inner Disciplines of the Life Toward God. In occasional Use at St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, Manhattan. *Compiled and edited by William Norman Guthrie.* New York, The Century Co., 1927. Pp. xxxi, 416. \$2.50.
- FIRST STEPS IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. *By Charles Harris.* Milwaukee, Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xxvii, 137. \$1.50.
- PRAYER IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY: A Study of some Moments and Masters of the Christian Life from Clement of Alexandria to Fénelon. *By A. L. Lilley.* Milwaukee, Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xi, 128. \$1.60.
- HUMANIST SERMONS. *Edited by Curtis W. Reese.* Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xviii, 262. \$2.50.
- HINDU MYSTICISM: Six Lectures. (N. W. Harris Foundation Lectures, Northwestern University.) *By S. N. Dasgupta.* Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xx, 168. \$2.00.
- THE MAKING OF LUKE-ACTS. *By Henry J. Cadbury.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. x, 385. \$3.00.
- HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL. Vol. IV. Cincinnati, 1927. Pp. 494.
- MIND AND BODY. *By Hans Driesch.* Authorized Translation by Theodore Besterman. New York, Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1927. Pp. 191. \$3.00.
- THE SPREADING DAWN: Stories of the great Transition. *By Basil King.* New York, Harper & Brothers, 1927. Pp. viii, 316. \$2.00.
- CONCORDANT VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES: an idiomatic, consistent English version [of the New Testament] conforming to the basic laws of language, in that, as far as possible, each English expression constantly represents its closest Greek equivalent, and each Greek word is translated by an exclusive English rendering. Pocket edition. Los Angeles, Concordant Publishing Concern, 1927. Pp. 383. \$1.50.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE ABUSE OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE.** By *Walter Henry Buxton*. Spokane, Wash., published by the author, 1927. Pp. 40.
- INFLUENCE OF THE WEEKLY REST-DAY ON HUMAN WELFARE: A Scientific Research.** Published by The New York Sabbath Committee, 1927. Pp. 120. \$1.00.
- FESTGABE FÜR ADOLF DEISSMANN ZUM 60. GEBURTSTAG** 7. Nov. 1926. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1927. Pp. viii, 334. 18 marks.
- GESCHICHTE DER LEBEN-JESU-FORSCHUNG.** By *Albert Schweitzer*. 4. photomechanisch gedruckte Auflage. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1926. Pp. xii, 659. 21 marks.
- RELIGION UND KIRCHE UND JESUS: Was ist es um sie und was können sie uns heute sein?** Leipzig, Teubner, 1927. Pp. 207. 3.50 marks.
- GRIECHISCH-DEUTSCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZU DEN SCHRIFTEN DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS.** By *Erwin Preuschen*. 2. Aufl. by *Walter Bauer*. 7. und 8. Lieferungen. Giessen, Töpelmann. 3 Marks each.
- GLAUBENSLEHRE.** By *Martin Rade*. 2. Band, 3. Buch: Vom Geist. Gotha, Leopold Klotz, 1927. Pp. viii, 305. 8 marks.
- VIERTZIG JAHRE "CHRISTLICHE WELT."** Festgabe für Martin Rade zum 70. Geburtstag, 4. Apr. 1927. *Zusammengestellt von Hermann Mulert*. Gotha, Leopold Klotz. Pp. xi, 212. 8 marks.
- GLAUBE UND MYSTIK.** (Studien des apologetischen Seminars in Wernigerode, 21. Heft.) By *Hans Emil Weber*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1927. Pp. 74. 2.80 marks.
- DER APOSTEL PAULUS: das Ringen um das geschichtliche Verständnis des Paulus.** (Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie, 2. Reihe, 12. Band.) By *Paul Feine*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1927. Pp. viii, 630. 23 marks.
- DOGMATIK. Erster Band: Einleitung in die Dogmatik.** By *Carl Stange*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1927. Pp. xvi, 242.
- DER DOPPELTE WELLHAUSENIANISMUS IM LICHT MEINER QUELLENFORSCHUNGEN: ein Rückblick auf meine Mitarbeit im Gebiete der Sprach- und Religionswissenschaft.** By *Eduard König*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1927. Pp. 52. 2 marks.
- EVANGELIUM UND LEBEN: Gesammelte Vorträge.** By *Paul Althaus*. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1927. Pp. vi, 190.
- GRUNDLEGUNG ZUR INDUKTIVEN THEOLOGIE: Kritik, Phänomenologie und Methode des allgemeinen und des theologischen Erkennens.** By *Wilhelm Koepp*. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann. Pp. 67.
- MELCHISEDECH DER PRIESTERKÖNIG VON SALEM: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese.** By *Gottfried Wutke*. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 5.) Giessen, A. Töpelmann, 1927. Pp. 76. 3.50 Marks.
- DIE RELIGION IN GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWART**, hrsg. von Gunkel und Zscharnack. Lief. 10-17. Tübingen, Mohr, 1927. Subscription price 1.80 Marks each Lieferung.
- DIE KATAKOMBENWELT: Grundriss, Ursprung und Idee der Kunst in der Römischen Christengemeinde.** By *Oskar Beyer*. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1927. 9 Marks.

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

RELIGION UND KIRCHE UND JESUS: Was ist es um sie und was können sie uns heute sein? Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1927. Pp. 207. 5 Marks.

MASORETEN DES WESTENS. Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen, I. (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, N. F., Heft 8.) By *Paul Kahle*. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1927. Pp. xi, 89, 66, 27. 16 Marks.

INSCRIPTIONES LATINAE CHRISTIANAE VETERES. Vol. II, Fasc. 6 et 7. *Edidit Ernestus Diehl*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1927. 6 Marks.

SEPTEMBRE 1792: Histoire politique des Massacres. By *Gustave Gautherot*. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1927. Pp. 174. 10 francs.